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ABSTRACT

Purposes of this study of the Bordertown Dormitory Program were (1) to provide a description of the social situation as it existed in 1963 and 1968 as perceived by the teachers, students, dormitory aides, and parents; (2) to ascertain the patterns, if any, arising within individual variations, resulting in group perceptions rather than individual perceptions; and (3) to develop a set of criteria for assessing the dormitory program. Data collection was accomplished using personal interviews, classroom and playground observations, sociograms, standardized tests, and informal conversation. In addition, 71 student case studies from the 1963 sample and 42 student case studies from the 1968 sample were used to supplement information obtained from 15 members of the dormitory staff, 2 school board members, 10 administrators, 54 teachers, 21 Anglo students, and the parents or relatives of 26 Navajo children. It was concluded that, in spite of an inadequate goal orientation, the Flagstaff Dormitory Program enjoyed much success, as evidenced by the student, parent, and teacher reactions to it. (LS)

THE NAVAJO BORDERTOWN DORMITORY IN FLAGSTAFF, ARIZONA

John H. Chilcott

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INTRODUCTION

The Navajo Indians have always proved to be an enigma to the federal government. From the earliest period of raiding Spanish and American settlements, to their current status as one of the more "progressive" Indian tribes in the United States, there has been a continuity of misunderstandings, misdirected efforts of amelioration, and a persistence of hostility between the Navajos and the "white man." It has only been within the last decade or so that the goals of the federal government for the Navajo tribe and the goals of the Navajo tribe for itself have begun to coincide. For most of the history of the Navajo/Anglo-American relationship, the latter has attempted to change, to acculturate, to assimilate the Navajos to the "American Way of Life." To some extent this attitude persists among many Anglo-Americans today.

The Navajos, unlike many of the other Indian tribes in the United States, have increased in number. In 1864 the Navajos were confined at Fort Sumner at which time they numbered around 5,000; today they number close to 120,000. Because of this increase in population, Navajo youth need to seek employment off the reservation for part or all of their lives.[1] At the same time that the Navajo tribe was increasing in size, it was also resisting assimilation to Anglo-American culture, preferring instead to maintain its identity outside the mainstream of American society.

Recently a number of natural resources, uranium, oil, coal and timber have been discovered on the reservation. Finding their own people

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[1]Kluckhohn, Clyde and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navajo*, 1948, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, p. 111.

inadequately trained to develop these resources, the Navajos have been forced to hire non-Indians. The tribal council wishes to replace these people as rapidly as the Navajos themselves become sufficiently trained to do the job. Thus the Navajos need to learn "Anglo" ways not only to live off the reservation but also in order to participate in the development of the resources on the reservation.

During World War II the army established an Ordnance Depot on the outskirts of Flagstaff, which became known as the Navajo Ordnance Depot. A large number of Hopi and Navajo Indians were employed at this facility. The families lived in camps at the depot (described in one interview as "abominable") and an old barracks was used as a school. At one time there were seven thousand children in the camps, but the Anglo children were bused into Flagstaff to attend school, creating in essence a segregated school system at the Depot. The sentiment of the Flagstaff community at that time was that the education of American Indian children was a federal responsibility. Gradually the community agreed to assume the responsibility for educating Indian children providing that federal monies were used to aid the district with the cost of their education. In 1950 approximately 15,000 Indian children were attending segregated schools in the Flagstaff area.[2]

At the same time that the idea of desegregating the schools was becoming popular, the superintendent of schools, the president of the local university, and a local businessman discussed the possibility of building a dormitory in the area for reservation children who would then

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[2]Much of the information concerning the history of the Bordertown Dormitory in Flagstaff was derived from interviews with school administrators and school board members.

attend the newly integrated schools in Flagstaff. According to the superintendent of schools the original idea for what was to be known as the Bordertown Dormitory Program stemmed from these early discussions in the 1950's. Then in 1953 the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated a program of building dormitories in towns near the reservations and entering into Johnson-O'Mally type contracts for the education of Navajo Indian children in the public schools of these towns. At that time this practice was considered desirable from the standpoint of affording the Indian children an opportunity to become fluent in the English language and to learn the habits, customs, and practices of the general population among whom they must work and live. It was both an immediate and less costly solution to the demand for classroom space which was not currently available on the reservation.

In Flagstaff the integration of Indian children and the creation of the dormitory was a slow process. A community meeting of 40 leaders was held to discuss the effect on the youngsters in the schools. From this meeting a committee of 25 people was established to examine the financial and social effect of integration on the school system. An initial criticism of the dormitory program in Flagstaff was that such a program would expose the local children to Indian children with a lower moral standard than their own. One of the school board members at that time was able to convince the critics that this indeed was not true, that many Indians held higher moral standards than many whites. This committee talked with a large number of people and advocated proceeding with a dormitory program. The committee also established a set of criteria under which the program was to operate and assumed the responsibility for the fulfillment of the criteria. These stipulations included the distribution of the Indian

children from the fourth through the twelfth grades so that there would never be more than 40% minority children in any one classroom. Ideally, the ratio was to be five dormitory children or less to every 30 children. All the Navajo children were to be able to speak English before they were accepted. The federal government was to provide a capital outlay of $300,000 and pay a tuition of $1,000 per child each year. The $300,000 was used to build a new elementary school (Kinsey) and to make some additions and renovations on other schools. Some forest service land was acquired on the edge of town on which to build the dormitory. There was never any resistance to the program; on the contrary, it was the general sentiment of the community that if the Navajos were educated this would contribute to the economic growth of the community.

This novel solution to the problem of educating American Indian children (and perhaps children of other minorities as well) has received little attention from educators and social scientists. After hearing of my interest in American Indian Education, Dr. Edward Danson, Director of the Museum of Northern Arizona entered into a correspondence with me concerning the feasibility of studying the progress of the Navajo Bordertown Dormitory students in the Flagstaff public schools. Dr. Danson had been approached by a number of administrators of day schools on the reservation who were opposed to the Bordertown Dormitory Program. They felt that what was needed were more and better day schools on the reservation. Dr. Danson was particularly interested in the effect which the Navajo dormitory students were having on the regular public school program. During the spring of 1963, I was granted a sabbatical leave and a Faculty Research Grant from the University of California, Santa Barbara, to pursue the research. Both the Museum of Northern Arizona and the administration of the Flagstaff

Public Schools were most cooperative in affording time, space, and access to the students and their teachers. Unfortunately, with the assumption of a new position at the University of Arizona that fall, time did not permit analysis and reporting of the data collected in 1963. Then, five years later, with the selection of the University of Arizona as one of the Field Centers for the National Study of American Indian Education, the opportunity arose to complete the research through a study of the dormitory life of the Navajo students. Although six years separate the original study of classroom behavior from the recent study of dormitory life, the research is now more complete in that it describes both components of the program and records changes which have occurred during the intervening years.

This study to a considerable extent corroborates much of the 1965 Report to the Senate Appropriations Committee on the Navajo Bordertown Dormitory Program by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.[3] It provides specific recommendations for the future conduct of the existing program in Flagstaff based on sound social science theory. And finally it raises a question as to the feasibility of the utilization of a dormitory program for children of socially disorganized, poverty stricken neighborhoods in other sections of the United States.

A study this extensive could not be conducted without the assistance of a large number of persons. To my wife, who uprooted her pleasant life on the shores of the Pacific Ocean and spent many hours observing the Navajo children in the classroom, I, of course, owe the most gratitude.

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[3]*Report to the Senate Appropriations Committee on the Navajo Bordertown Dormitory Program by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, February, 1965, U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

To a score of student-secretaries, among whom should be mentioned Holly Ingram, Mary Anne Lively, and Peggy Davis, I owe much for releasing me from the tedious tasks of transcribing, typing, and collating the data gathered in the school and community. To the Universities of California and Arizona, who provided leave and faculty research grants, I also owe a debt of gratitude.

The dormitory study in 1969 was conducted by the Field Team of the Arizona Center of the National Study of American Indian Education, funded under the auspices of the United States Office of Education and directed by Robert J. Havighurst. The members of this team were Ned Anderson (Apache), Sam Billison (Navajo), Velma Garcia (Acoma), Margaret Knight, and Weldron Smith. Eileen Tallas (Navajo) provided much of the data for the dormitory and community description.

Finally, it should be noted that without the interest and assistance of Dr. Edward B. Danson, Director of the Museum of Northern Arizona, this study would never have been initiated.

John H. Chilcott
December, 1970

I

The Purpose and Procedures of the Study

Minorities in American society may be classified in terms of the goals toward which they are striving with regard to their relationships within the dominant groups. They may be separatist such as the Black Muslims who seek an entirely separate existence outside the American society. They may be assimilative such as most northern European nationalities who eagerly sought membership in the dominant groups, discarding in the process many of the traditions which may hinder this process. Or they may be pluralistic such as many North American Indians who seek to maintain their traditions and identities yet acquire sufficient skills to cope with and participate in the dominant group.[4] Within the history of the Navajo-Anglo relations, the Navajos have insisted upon retaining their cultural identity.

Until the last decade, however, the goals of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the goals of most public schools have been toward assimilating minority members. This led to a conflict of goals since the Navajos did not wish to be assimilated, but did wish to acculturate sufficiently to cope with the Anglo society. Furthermore, the Navajo culture change model has been described as incorporative wherein the Navajo selects from the Anglo culture those features which he feels benefit his cultural life style and rejects those features which he feels will not enhance his adult life.

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[4]For a plea to change American opinion toward an acceptance of a greater pluralism of ethnic difference within America see Task Force on Indian Affairs, "Implementing Change through Government," *Human Organization*, Vol. 21, No. 2, Summer, 1962, p. 132.

To what degree was this condition affecting the Bordertown Dormitory Program in Flagstaff?

In addition to providing a description of a social situation, this study focused on the perception which the participants in the social arena, some of whom had contrasting goals, had of the situation, both as it existed in 1963 and 1968 and as they would like to see it operate under ideal conditions. Each of the participants, student, dormitory aide, teacher, and parent was influenced by his own life history and personal philosophy thus creating considerable individual variation. It was the goal of this research, however, to ascertain the patterns, if any, which might arise within the individual variation, resulting in group perceptions rather than individual perceptions, and group behavior rather than individual behavior.

A variety of research techniques were employed to accomplish this task. These included:

1. A series of three personal interviews with a sample of students attending the public schools in 1963. Student reactions to the personal interviews were highly variable. Some students who were outgoing in class were shy during the interview. There was a complete breakdown of communication with only one student.

2. A personal interview with a sample of the students living in the dormitory in 1968.

3. A personal interview with the teachers of the children selected for the sample in 1963, providing both a description of the student and the teacher's reaction to the Navajo students as a group.

4. A personal interview with a sample of the dormitory personnel in 1968.

5. A personal interview with the chief administrative officers of the schools and the dormitory both in 1963 and 1968.

6. Classroom and playground observations of the students included in the sample from grades one to nine in 1963 (a total of 51).

7. The administration of a sociogram in each class, grades one to six, of which a Navajo student included in the 1963 sample was a member.

8. The administration of an Emotional Response Test based on school situations, persons, and objects (1963). This test was patterned after a similar test administered to Navajo children on the reservation.[5]

9. The administration of the California Test of Personality, Section 2, "Social Adjustment," Section 2D; Family Relations excluded to grades 10 - 12 (1963).

10. The collection of case study data from school records for each of the Navajo students in the 1963 sample.

11. A home visit and interview with the parents and relatives of Navajo students included in the 1963 sample.

12. Informal conversations with teachers and administrators (1963) directed at answering the following questions:

1) Was any orientation provided for those teachers who were going to have Navajo children in their classes?

2) What was the reaction of the school board to including Navajo children in the school system?

3) Is there a place in the school curriculum in which the Navajo culture is studied? How is it presented?

4) Are there any Navajo teachers in the system? What success do they have with Navajo children?

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[5]See R. J. Havighurst and B. L. Neugarten, *American Indian and White Children*, 1955, University of Chicago Press, pp. 23-83.

5) Are there Navajo families resident in Flagstaff? What kinds of contacts and influence do they have on the children resident in the dormitory?

6) What kinds of activities are conducted in connection with the dormitory which might assist the school program?

7) What is the effect of the presence of the Navajo students on other minority group members in the school?

8) What changes occurred in the school program following the introduction of the Navajo children into the system to compensate for the problems encountered?

The study also developed a set of criteria, the fulfillment of which it was felt would provide an empirical basis for validating the success of the Bordertown Dormitory Program in Flagstaff. The criteria were based upon Anglo-American middle class behaviors and values which commonly constitute "school culture" in the United States. Such a list of criteria included:

1. The attainment of progress toward grade level norms on a standardized achievement test.

2. The use of English as a means of communication in all formal and informal social situations except those requiring the use of the Navajo language. Included in this criteria would be the use of "correct" English forms.

3. Participation in classrooms, extra class, and informal situations germane to the school.

4. An understanding and acceptance of the Anglo reward-sanctions system, e.g., a desire for good grades, and academic education, to be neat, clean, etc.

5. Conformity to Anglo fads of behavior and dress.

6. A desire to participate in Anglo vocations once adulthood is attained.

7. The acceptance of teachers and administrators as authority figures which are to be obeyed. (In the Navajo culture no one coerces another. A parent does not command his child in the sense of giving a direct order. Instead, he uses the authority of Navajo culture, its taboos, structure, procedures, and religion.)[6]

8. The acceptance of responsible leadership within the school. (Men usually do not seek leadership in Navajo culture and it is considered fundamentally indecent to presume to make decisions for the group.)[7]

9. The choice of companions, playmates, and friends from non-Navajo groups.

By creating this set of criteria, it was anticipated that the study could not only provide a description of the existing conditions in the schools and dormitory, but could as well provide some measure of progress toward the goals of the Bordertown Dormitory program as defined by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The 1963 Student Sample: Seventy-one case studies were collected representing a random sample of 22% of the 312 Navajo children residing in the dormitory. The sample consisted of 40 girls and 31 boys, ages 8-21, in grades 1-12. Twenty-seven of the children were in upper school, eighth grade or above. The modal age for girls was 10, for boys 11, otherwise the children were fairly evenly distributed among ages 9 and 18 (Appendix A).

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[6]Dorothy Lee, *Freedom and Culture*, 1958, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, pp. 10-13.

[7]Leighton, D., and C. Kluckhohn, *Children of the People*, 1948, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, p. 220.

Slightly over one fourth (27%) of the sample came from the Leupp area of the reservation; another fourth (28%) was from the Navajo Mountain area, while the remainder was fairly evenly scattered over the western region of the reservation.

Approximately one-half of the students had resided in the dormitory for four or more years (including the current school year). The largest group of students (26%) started in the second grade. Otherwise there was an even distribution of entry grade between the first and the sixth grades. Thirteen students had entered at the 7-10 grade levels. There were two students whose parents were not both Navajo; these exceptions were Hopi-Navajo marriages.[8] Thirty-seven mothers (52%) and 25 fathers (35%) spoke no English. Thirty-eight mothers (54%) and 30 fathers (42%) had not attended school. Thirty-five percent of the fathers were employed as wage earners holding a steady job. Eight of the fathers either were away from home or deceased. Four of the students were living with relatives. Two students' parents did not speak any Navajo.

Over fifty percent of the children herded sheep and/or helped their mothers when they were home on vacation. Other vacation activities included horseback riding, hunting, and helping with the crops. Only six (all older students) were engaged in wage labor during the summer.

Approximately one third of the students knew their clan name.[9] Thirteen of the girls dressed in traditional Navajo attire when they returned home on vacation. Ten of the students had been treated by

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[8]In the instance of the Hopi father, the child considered herself a Hopi. The other instance was a Hopi mother.

[9]Navajo families are grouped into large matrilineal clans. See Thompson, Laura, *Personality and Government*, 1951, Ediciones del Instituto Indigenista Inter-Americano, Mexico, D.F., p. 37.

Navajo medicine men. Fourteen of the girls had learned to weave blankets at home; two boys had learned some silversmithing, and three boys had learned to sandpaint at home. Approximately one third of the students had lived in more than one place on the reservation. Twenty-two students (31%) were still enrolled at the time of the dormitory study in 1968.

The 1968 random sample of dormitory students consisted of 42 students: 22 girls and 20 boys, ages nine to 19. Nine of the students were in the fifth grade, 13 in the eighth grade, one in the ninth grade, and 19 in the twelfth grade. Most of the sample were attending either the nearby Flagstaff Junior High or High School. As in the 1963 sample the students came mainly from the western portion of the reservation.

Details of the samples of the professional staff and parents are reported where appropriate in the monograph.

II

The School, Dormitory, and Community Setting

The city of Flagstaff is located at the foot of the San Francisco Peaks on the Colorado Plateau in northern Arizona. The immediate area is covered with a ponderosa pine forest. The high elevation of 7,000 feet results in winters characterized by heavy snowfall and cool summers. Aspen, fir and spruce occur on the upper elevations of the mountain slopes; piñon and juniper occur on the lower regions of the plateau.

The population of 27,000 is supported primarily from the lumber industry, Northern Arizona University, and tourism; the city being one of the few motel locations in Arizona on the major East-West highway formerly known as Route 66. The city has also been a railroad center

since the 1870's. In 1940 organized winter snow sports began with the construction of the ski lift in the San Francisco Peaks. In addition, the city serves as a "gateway" to the Grand Canyon and other scenic areas for which Arizona is famous.

Other features of the city which have received national publicity are the Lowell Observatory from which the planet Pluto was first recorded, the Museum of Northern Arizona, and the Buffalo Park which covers 217 acres of forest land where elk, antelope, deer, and buffalo can be observed in their natural habitat. (This park was closed in 1969.)

Fifteen miles to the west on Highway 66, the military authority trains men in ammunition handling at the Navajo Ordnance Depot; a number of Navajo Indians are employed at this facility. In addition to serving as a commercial center for local ranchers, Flagstaff is also one of the major commercial centers for the Navajo reservation which borders the northwestern portion of the San Francisco Peaks. For many Navajos from the western portions of the reservation, a trip to Flagstaff represents a trip to the "city." During the Fourth of July holidays, thousands of tourists and Indians from many areas of the Southwest are attracted to the Flagstaff All-Indian Pow Wow. Additionally, the Museum of Northern Arizona sponsors a Hopi and a Navajo arts and crafts exhibition every summer. Consequently, the city is not only well known among Navajos but is considered a familiar and popular town to visit.

The major commercial and federal government buildings are located in the center of the city approximately one mile from the dormitory. It is in this part of the city where the movie house attended by Navajo students is located. From this section of town the city of Flagstaff provides police and fire protection services for the dormitory. There is no

evidence of any attempts by the dormitory administration to involve any of the personnel from these facilities in the dormitory program.

The dormitory and its campus is located on the northern edge of the city park and rodeo grounds. The park is well equipped with playground equipment which is available to the Indian students. A few yards from the dormitory campus is a low income housing project known as "Clark Homes" where reside many Anglo, Indian and Mexican-American children who share the facilities of the playground with the dormitory children. No problems between these children have been reported.

The dormitory campus consists of three buildings: a boy's dormitory, a girl's dormitory, and an administration building which includes a cafeteria, a gymnasium, and offices. The buildings are scattered in an informal fashion across a hillside with the administration building at the bottom. A dirt road circles to a dead end behind the girl's dormitory. Although the campus is enclosed by a wire fence, the buildings are readily available to the visiting public.

Each building is of cinder block construction; the dormitories are two stories high and 152 students are housed in each. Both dormitories have four wings, each consisting of a large room divided into cubicles which contain two bunk beds, two lockers, two bureaus, and a study table. One wing of the dormitory is arranged so that the high school seniors are housed on the top floor and the juniors on the bottom. The other wing houses the freshmen and sophomores on the top floor and the elementary school children on the bottom. In comparison with dormitories at Phoenix Indian School, Ft. Apache Boarding School, and the Navajo Demonstration School, the Field Team felt that the students in the Flagstaff dormitory were living under extremely crowded conditions.

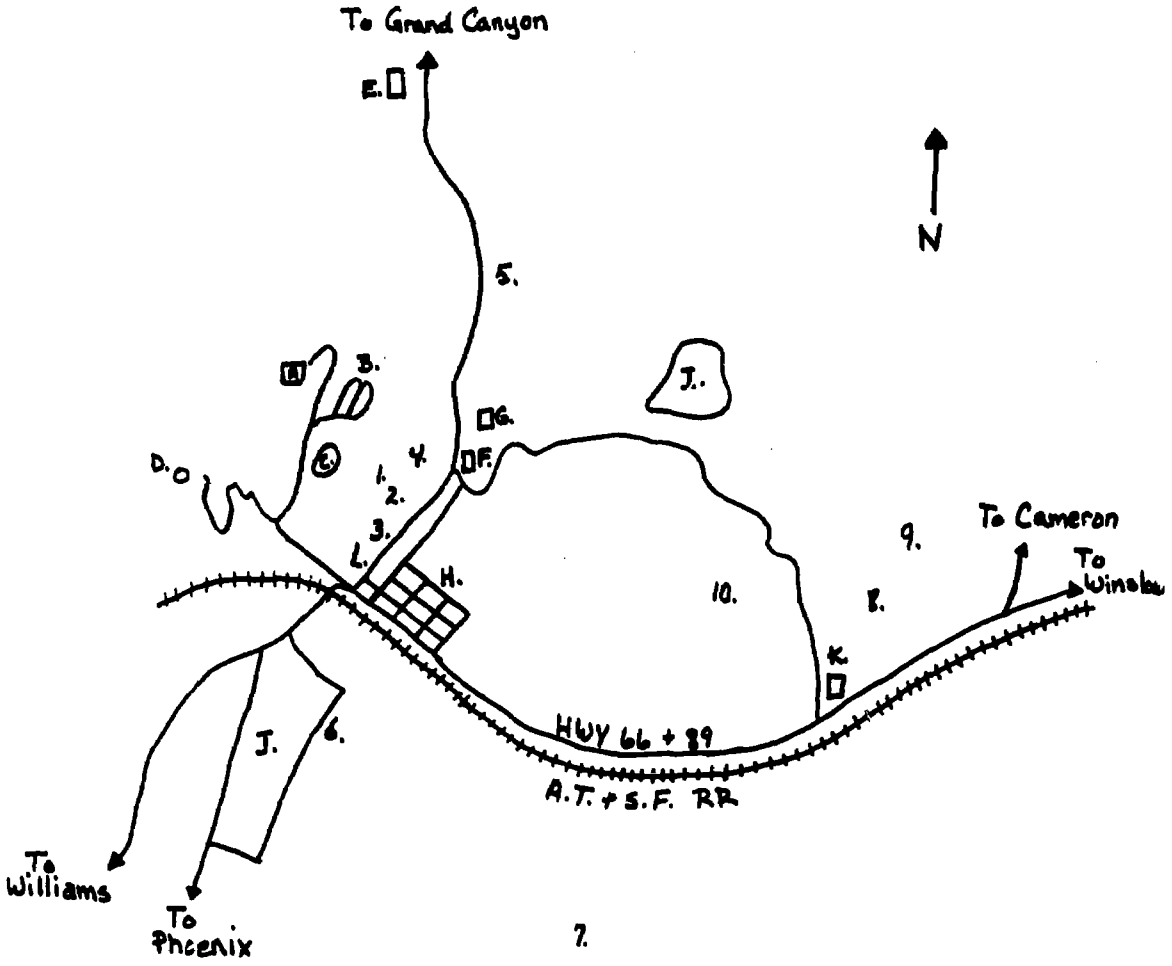

FIGURE A

General Map of Flagstaff Showing the Location of the Bordertown Dormitory with Respect to Schools and Other Major Features of the City

A. Flagstaff Bordertown Dormitory Campus
B. Clark Homes
C. Rodeo Grounds and City Park
D. Lowell Observatory
E. Museum of Northern Arizona
F. Shopping Mall
G. Hospital
H. Main Downtown Business District, City Hall, Coconino County Courthouse, Federal Offices, Banks, Theater, etc.
I. Buffalo Park (closed 1969)
J. Northern Arizona University Campus
K. Shopping Mall
L. Library

1. Flagstaff High School
2. Flagstaff Jr. High
3. Emerson School
4. Marshall School
5. Sechrist School
6. South Beaver School
7. Kinsey School
8. Mt. Elden School
9. East Flagstaff Jr. High School
10. Coconino High School

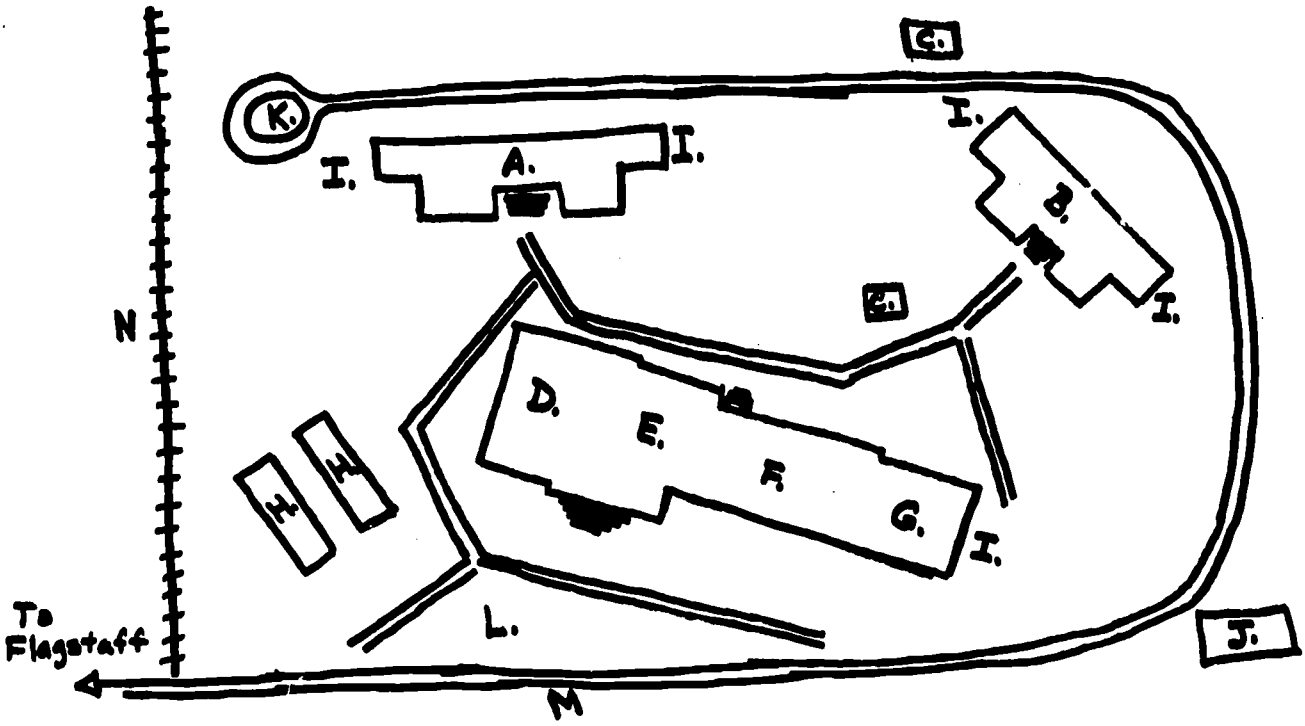

FIGURE B

Map of the Navajo Bordertown Dormitory Campus

A. Girls' Dormitory
B. Boys' Dormitory
C. Incinerator
D. Gymnasium
E. Administration Office
F. Dining Room
G. Kitchen
H. Basketball Court
I. Clothes Line
J. Supply Room
K. Dead End
L. Parking Area
M. Dirt Road
N. Fence

FIGURE C

Exterior View of Dormitory

FIGURE D

Interior View of Girls' Dormitory Wing

Between the wings is a large living room, where students can lounge to watch television, listen to the radio, play the piano, read in comfort, or just talk.[10] This room is also used as a study hall four nights a week. Since there aren't enough tables or desks, students must use their laps for writing. There were no typewriters in evidence. Those students who are receiving poor grades report to a special study hall which has tutors to assist them in their work. Study hours are from 6:30 to 8:30 p.m. The living rooms have a bank of windows on one side and a bank of offices on the other. They are furnished with utilitarian type furniture. All of the dormitory space is kept very clean and orderly.

FIGURE E

Interior View of Girls' Dormitory Lounge

[10]Individual record players are also permitted. By far the favorite music is "Country and Western."

A counseling office is located off the main hallway entrance to the living room. This office affords some privacy for the guidance staff. Across from this office is the linen room; in the girls' dormitory it contains four sewing machines for use by the girls in mending their clothes and making clothes for their Home Economics classes. At the back of the linen room is a small library with books on biography, literature, science, and Indian life; the latter are in constant demand. The library is attended by one of the high school students who has had some library training and is paid for her services through the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

In the center of the dormitory is a small apartment which has been converted to an examing room and clinic for the doctor's and nurse's use. Each morning the doctor and nurse receive students who are on "sick call." There is also an isolation room equipped with two hospital beds and a private bath. On occasion a child with measles or a similar illness will be cared for here; if any serious illness occurs, the student is admitted to the city hospital. In 1963 school records indicated that most of the students had few health problems. Problems which were listed included poor teeth (2), poor eyes (16), record of T.B. (7), poor hearing (1), speech problem (1), rheumatic fever (1), and ringworm (1). Some of the teachers interviewed indicated that the school district had no program for the physically handicapped children.

Down a flight of stairs is the laundry room with two automatic washing machines and a large dryer. The younger children's clothes are washed by the instructional aides. Junior and Senior High School students wash their own clothes here after school and on weekends.

Since the dining hall, which is located in the administration building, has a seating capacity of only 120 students, meals are served in shifts

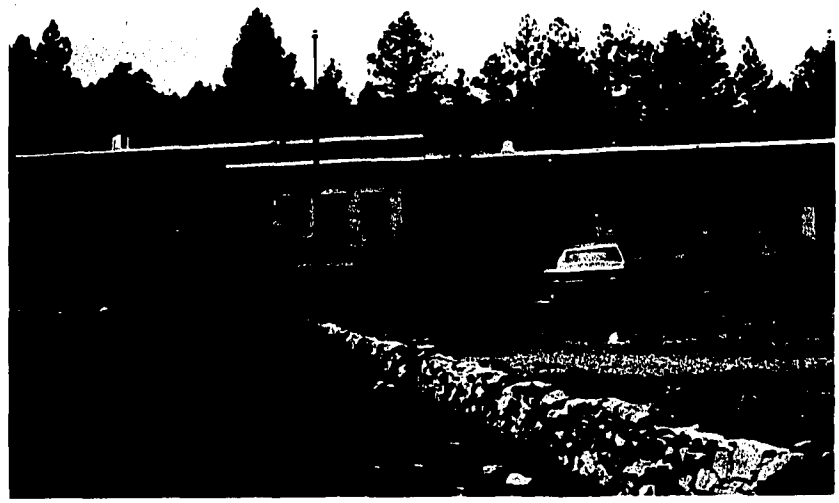

FIGURE F

Exterior View of Administration Building

according to wings of the dormitory. On school days the children eat their noon meal in the school cafeterias. (In 1963 the younger children were transported by bus to the cafeteria at one school disrupting to some extent the daily routine of their class, but evidently this practice was discontinued as schools with cafeterias became available.) The kitchen staff also provides refreshments for special parties and affords special training in food service and handling to the dormitory students.

There is a gymnasium, two outdoor basketball courts and a baseball field included on the campus grounds. Sport and play equipment is checked out to students over 16 years of age who have been taught to use the equipment properly. Although the campus is sparsely landscaped, its starkness is diminished by the fact that many pine trees remain in their native condition.

The organization of dormitory life is assisted by an elected student council consisting of representatives of seven classes. The guidance counselors for the boys' and girls' dorms serve as sponsors for the student council, which recommends "house rules" for the approval of the principal and assists the advisory staff and the principal in organizing student social affairs.[11]

In addition to the social events planned for the weekends, the gymnasium is open for boys' basketball and girls' volleyball. During the winter months there is inter-dormitory competition in these sports between the Flagstaff dormitory and other BIA dormitories on and off the reservation. A movie is shown every other week and high school students (in 1963 all students) who have sufficient funds can attend the movie downtown on weekends. Saturday is a shopping day for all students. The younger children are chaperoned on their trips to town and to all social events. They also receive instructions on how to shop. Within the dorms themselves toys and games are checked out to the students for their amusement.

Dormitory students after receiving written permission from their parents may participate in chaperoned bus trips to the surrounding recreational areas such as Oak Creek Canyon to the south of Flagstaff. These trips are organized through the dormitory. Bus transportation is provided to all of the local high school social and athletic events.

Some of the churches are located within walking distance of the dormitory. Others, such as the Church of Latter Day Saints, Baptist Indian Mission, Navajo Mission, and Assembly of God, provide transportation. The

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[11] In 1968 the students complained that though this was ideal, few recommendations by the student council had been accepted by the dormitory staff.

children attend the church of their parents' preference.[12] All of the churches provide social activities for the Navajo students and the majority participate. The pastors of each church meet once a month with the dormitory staff to study the guidance of the students.

Since there is a Boy Scout troop at the dorm, some of the boys can attend Scout camps in the summer.

Each student works on an institutional work detail for room and board and for training purposes. The work details are assigned and graded by the instructional aides. The high school girls are graded and recommended for domestic work in local Anglo homes on the basis of their performance on their work details. Employers in the Flagstaff area have expressed very favorable reactions to the quality of housework performed by these girls.

There is a daily inspection of the whole dormitory. Each student is responsible for cleaning his or her cubicle and for completing his work detail prior to inspection.

The dormitory staff has accepted a philosophy which rejects the concept of discipline and substitutes instead the concept of counseling and guidance. Problems are solved through individual conferences and group discussion. There are also classes conducted by the dormitory staff on personality development, good grooming, good citizenship, wholesome boy-girl relationships, and social customs and acceptable behavior.

When a dormitory student has repeatedly broken the dormitory or school rules or continues his or her poor conduct, special privileges are

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[12]On the dormitory roster in 1963 church preference was indicated for each child. None was listed as Navajo in spite of the fact that 42% of the children indicated they participated in traditional Navajo rituals.

revoked. The most common practice is to remove the "off campus" check-out privileges. In addition to restricting the student to the dormitory, extra work details are assigned. It is felt by the dormitory staff that some students break the rules merely to gain attention.

Vandalism in the boys' dormitory and administration building had become a major problem during the 1967-68 year. By taking turns as watchmen during the night, the dormitory staff were able to apprehend the boys who were responsible. The culprits were sent home with a week's suspension after which the vandalism discontinued. Although stealing and shoplifting were not mentioned as a problem by the dormitory staff, they were mentioned by the teachers and confirmed by nearby merchants and the police.[13] It has been suggested that stealing as a social behavior appeared among the Navajo after contact with the Anglo-American culture; the Navajo seems to have almost no guilt feelings, but if he is caught he does experience a great deal of shame.

Littering is a problem especially with the elementary school age children, since the notion of littering does not exist in many areas of the reservation. The dormitory staff expends a considerable amount of energy explaining and encouraging the younger students not to litter.

Students are permitted to leave in the company of their parents for weekends and vacations. On some occasions the parents keep their children past the deadline for returning to schools and some students have been suspended from school for constant violation (of the deadline). In 1963, however, school records indicated very low absenteeism; 82 percent of the students had averaged four days or less absence over a period of two years.

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[13]Leighton and Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

The dormitory staff consists of nine men and nine women. Some of the staff are Indians. The duties of the staff are varied; they are housemothers, teachers, counselors, and nurses. In addition to supervision they plan recreational affairs, sponsor and organize clubs, and counsel students both individually and in groups. Each staff member is assigned 20 students for whom he or she serves as sponsor and meetings are held twice a month for each group. Some of the staff also teach arts and crafts.

Since the Navajo tribal center is located in Window Rock, some two hundred miles east, tribal leaders rarely find an opportunity to visit the dormitory and the students. One of the major contributions of the Tribal Council to the dormitory program is the furnishing of clothing to those students whose parents are unemployed. Each spring a clothing order is sent to the Tribal Headquarters. The clothing provided, however, is not "modern" so that many of the older girls refuse to take advantage of the clothing program. A few of the students also receive help from "Save the Children Federation." Since many of the high school girls find employment with Anglo families on the weekends, they often purchase or spend their wages for material to make their own clothing. In 1963 the single question concerning the dormitory program most frequently asked by the parents was related to the process of the clothing distribution.

Nearly all the students speak Navajo around the dormitory; however, the staff felt that during the past five years English usage has been on the increase. They also have noted that the students are much less shy with visitors to the dormitory. Modern styles of dress and grooming have also become more prevalent.

In 1963 twenty-one students (30%) reported that they knew Navajo families in Flagstaff. Of these, nine students (13%) indicated that they

had visited these families. One might question what contribution, if any, Navajo families resident in Flagstaff could make to the dormitory program.

Once selected to participate in the Bordertown Dormitory Program, the student travels to the nearest sub-agency of the BIA where he or she will be transported by chartered bus to his dormitory.[14] The dormitory students at Flagstaff come, for the most, from the western sections of the reservation. To insure some modicum of success in the public schools they will be attending, the dormitory students are generally selected from the "better students."

In 1968 dormitory students were attending eight public schools: Flagstaff High School, Coconino High School (a new high school built since 1963), Central Junior High (formerly Flagstaff Junior High School), East Flagstaff Junior High (built in 1967), and four elementary schools (Eva) Marshall, Kinsey, South Beaver and Mt. Elden. Students attending Mt. Elden, Kinsey, South Beaver, East Flagstaff Junior High, and Coconino High School are transported by bus.[15] Students attending the other schools walk to school. In 1963 students were more widely scattered through the elementary schools attending (Eva) Marshall (28), Mt. Elden (15), Weitzel (9), Emerson (32), South Beaver (100), and Kinsey (20) with the majority of the students concentrated in the South Beaver School. The latter is an older building located across the street from Northern Arizona University. With expansion of the University, the neighborhood surrounding South Beaver School has been declining in terms of the number of children

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[14]The dormitory in Flagstaff is administered through the sub-agency at Tuba City, which also has the responsibility for selecting the students.

[15]Mt. Elden in 1963 was the largest elementary school--over 1200--in Northern Arizona. It required a big adjustment for the Indian students. It also had a large number of transients.

residing there. As a consequence this school has a number of empty classrooms which were naturally filled with Navajo students as the other elementary schools in the district were overcrowded. South Beaver School at the time of the research in 1963 was attended solely by Indian, Mexican-American, and Negro students; no Anglo students attended. The resulting multi-cultural "mix" provided some interesting perspectives. Another older school, Emerson, was at the time of the 1963 study in a run-down condition but it has since been refurbished. The Flagstaff Junior High School was located in the old high school plant.[16] With the exception of these three buildings all the remaining schools could be classified as modern plants, Kinsey School having been built by BIA contributions to the district being the more modern. Flagstaff High School, perhaps because of the influence of the nearby Northern Arizona University, offers primarily a college preparatory curriculum. In 1963 one of the high school students complained about having to take Latin, as she couldn't see much value in this course. Approximately 65% of dormitory students who graduate from high school continue their education. In 1968 40% of these graduates received scholarships to continue their education. Of those who did not go to college most attended technical schools through Employment Assistance.

With the exception of the adjustment which some individual teachers made in their classrooms, no school-wide policy or program developed to accommodate the dormitory students, nor did any of the teachers receive any special orientation to the problems they would encounter with the dormitory students. It was agreed at the outset of the program that the curriculum would not be altered in any way to accommodate the dormitory

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[16]Now renamed Central High School.

children. This policy was established with the view in mind that the main reason for the children attending public schools in Flagstaff was to provide them with an education equal to or better than other schools in the state.

The Flagstaff public school system could be classified as somewhat typical of most school systems located in small American cities. The curriculum was described as "a middle of the road" curriculum by the chief administrative officer. It is neither progressive nor conservative. Recent innovations in the curriculum (1963) included the development of a reading program which extended through the Junior High School, as well as the addition of two courses *Humanities* and *Comparative Governments* at the High School level.

Since 1963 when the first study was completed there have been a number of important changes in the dormitory program. Perhaps the most significant of these changes has been the increased enrollment of high school students and the subsequent reduction of elementary school students in the program. In 1963 ten percent of the students were attending high school. In 1968 the percentage had increased to 50 percent with 34 graduating seniors. In the same year an "Upward Bound" program under the auspices of Northern Arizona University had been started with 15 honor students. It is anticipated by the dormitory staff that students of elementary school and junior high school ages will be eventually phased out, leaving only high school students.

To prepare for this eventuality, the BIA has been encouraging the dormitory staff to pursue their college education at Northern Arizona University during the summers. It is anticipated by the BIA that if

sufficient members of the dormitory staff have a college education, no outside tutors will be required for the students.

In 1963 there was no representation of Navajo parents and their children on the school board. Since that time three Navajos have been appointed as ex officio members representing the dormitory; all three are university instructors at Northern Arizona University. Two student representatives, a boy and a girl, have also been appointed. The dormitory staff was unfamiliar with the manner in which these men had been elected. This account conflicts with the report of the principal of the dormitory. He reported that in 1967 he wrote to all the chapter houses in the western portion of the reservation requesting that they appoint a representative to the school board for the dormitory in Flagstaff. Only one responded, Kaibeto, nominating a student at the dorm as its representative.[17] Disappointed at this response, he appointed two Navajo men who lived in Flagstaff, one an instructor at Northern Arizona University, the other a druggist. Only one of these representatives had visited the dormitory to meet with the students in 1968.

Relationships with the Flagstaff community remain for the most part cordial. Interviews and informal conversations with community members suggest that Indians in general and the Indian students in particular encounter little prejudice. The boys' counselor serves on a community committee to help in ethnic relations. An "open house" each spring is well attended by members of the community.[18]

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[17]Such a response is typically Navajo for in Navajo society adults and children live in the same world. There is no separate adult and child's world. The same set of standards prevails for all ages. Thus a student (Navajo) from this area would qualify and be better qualified since he was living in Flagstaff.

[18]Much of the data for this portion of the report was provided by Mrs. Eileen Talles, a member of the dormitory staff.

III

Success in Accomplishing the Goals of the Bordertown Dormitory Program

The major purpose for creating the Bordertown Dormitory Program was to afford Indian children the opportunity to attend public schools with non-Indian children so as to encourage them to become fluent in the English language and to learn the customs and practices of the general population among whom they must work and live, or in essence to afford an opportunity through their participation in a public school system to acculturate to Anglo society. In order to measure progress toward this goal, a set of criteria the fulfillment of which would indicate successful acculturation was established at the outset of the 1963 research. (See pages 10-11.) Through an examination of school records, and interviews with students, teachers, and administrators, as well as classroom and playground observations, an assessment of successful fulfillment of these criteria was made.

Assuming that success in an Anglo institution such as the school would lead to later success in other Anglo institutions, how well were the students doing in school?[19] School success is commonly measured by the use of standardized tests and by school reports. Of the 70 pupils for whom reports and test scores were available 52 pupils were at or above grade level on the standardized achievement tests (California Achievement Test) and received average or better grades on school reports.[20] Four

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[19]For evidence that this is true see Havighurst, Robert J., *et. al.*, *Growing Up in River City*, 1962, John Wiley & Sons, New York, p. 153.

[20]This behavior contrasts sharply with the conclusion of the 1965 report on the Bordertown Dormitory Program which reported the poor achievement of dormitory students, *Report to the Senate Appropriations Committee...*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

were reported by their teachers as among the top students in class. Of the eighteen below grade level, one was socially promoted to fifth grade and one was repeating first grade, while one other was failing. There didn't appear to be any significant sex or grade differences as half of the low achievers were in the lower grades and half were girls.

There did not appear to be any standardization of grading throughout the Flagstaff schools or even within a single school which makes school marks a very subjective criterion of achievement. Four students were rated very high on both tests and school grades. Although no pattern of success in particular areas of the curriculum was apparent at the high school level, perhaps because so few high school students were included in the sample, at the elementary school level Navajo students earned honour grades in handwriting (35), spelling (28), art (9), and physical education (9). Subjects most preferred by the students were mathematics, history, and geography.[21]

Whereas standardized test scores and school grades were for the most part average or above, intelligence test scores were below average (Otis Intelligence Test, Form Beta). Of the 62 students for whom intelligence scores were recorded, 35% were below 90 with 75% below 100. When the test was repeated there appeared to be considerable fluctuation of test results both up and down the scale. One student's score fluctuated 27 points. It would appear, therefore, that group paper-pencil I.Q. tests are unreliable predictors of school success when used with the Navajo students.

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[21]In 1968 a group of older students reported that these were the subjects that they disliked.

It was also noted that there was considerable inconsistency between the teacher's description of the child and the child's school record. One teacher described a child as not having any artistic ability while the school record indicated two positive comments by previous teachers attesting to the child's artistic abilities.

The structure of child rearing in Navajo culture includes lavish praise, verbalization of patterns of good behavior and no urging to individual achievement,[22] whereas American public schools stress competitive achievement of individuals and place more emphasis on correcting misbehavior than patterning or praising of good behavior. The resolution of this culture conflict is certainly a good index of acculturation.

In spite of a language handicap, homesickness, and certainly a considerable lack of cultural fit, nearly three-fourths of the dormitory children were achieving at or near grade level on written examinations standardized on national norms. The implications of this are quite profound. Furthermore, at the time of the visit to the dormitory in 1968, a number of students were listed on the High School Honor Rolls, thus indicating an increase in the number of students performing above average in their school subjects.

Another criterion of acculturation was the use of English as a means of communication in all formal and informal situations except those requiring the use of the Navajo language. Included in this criterion was the use of "correct" English forms. While few teachers reported ever having heard the children speak Navajo, the youngsters themselves said they spoke Navajo in the halls, bathrooms, on the playground and at the dormitory.[23] They were

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[22]See Leighton and Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

[23]In 1963 a few of the teachers reported that they had been instructed by their principal not to permit the students to speak Navajo in the classroom.

very careful to speak only English in the classroom and within hearing range of authority figures. When the children first came to the dormitory they were told that speaking Navajo in class was not allowed. The fear of being overheard speaking Navajo diminishes rapidly with years at school. In 1963 most of the Navajo children would not speak their native tongue when requested by a teacher or interviewer. In part this may be due to the fact that it was difficult to translate English into Navajo. Navajo was also considered to be their language and not an object of curiosity; it was a very personal part of their lives, reflecting their culture.

Many of the 1963 sample spoke both English and Navajo at home and in some families one or both parents spoke English. Six students spoke no Navajo. In the several instances where both the father and the mother spoke no English and neither had gone to school, the student was performing above average in school.[24] However, "speaking English" at home sometimes consisted of a very meagre vocabulary. Where little or not English was spoken by parents the "educated" child often became the family interpreter with the local trader with much family pride attached to this role. The Navajo parents reported that the dormitory child would often try to teach younger siblings some English before they went to school. Nearly half of the students reported much difficulty with school at first because of the language. A few indicated that they were still having difficulty in understanding their teacher. Sometimes the students weren't able to fully understand their teachers until the 5th or 6th grade. Others indicated

[24]This fact reinforces previous research reported at the Sixth Annual Navajo Education Conference, March 5-7, 1963, Durango, Colorado which discovered that college success was highly correlated with children from non-English speaking homes. It appears that other socio-cultural factors than language are affecting school success.

that although they didn't have any trouble understanding their teacher they did have some trouble understanding the other (non-Navajo) students. According to one linguistic theory, language limits our thought processes and recreates experience in words enabling us to accumulate and transmit knowledge, i.e., culture.[25] This would imply a certain amount of acculturation must take place as the language is learned and as a condition of learning the language. In short, one cannot learn the use of a language without learning some of the customs and values of the native speakers.

Many of the Navajo children even in upper grades admitted some difficulty with certain words and ideas in their textbooks. They occasionally asked their teacher for clarification, but never requested help from Anglo students. Their English usage was almost always correct but some problem was posed by word endings and accents. One might speculate that correct English usage was due to having learned English in a school situation rather than by contact with lower-class Anglos whose usage is many times incorrect.[26]

The most important facet of education for the Navajo students by their own rating was the learning and using of English. Certainly it is of prime importance for them to have facility with the language of their citizenship and the dominant culture. Neither acculturation nor assimilation could be accomplished without a common language.

A third criterion of acculturation was the participation in classroom, extra-class, and informal situations germane to the school. There were

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[25]Sapir-Whorf.

[26]In the previous study of Bordertown Dormitories, a few Navajo parents complained that their children were learning to speak English with a Spanish accent.

extraneous factors influencing participation in extra-class and informal school situations. Many of the upper grade students, for example, reported difficulty with dormitory regulations which prevented participation in interscholastic sports, glee club and other extra-curricular activities. A lack of birth certificates prevented interscholastic athletic pursuits. No musical instruments were ever provided for dormitory youngsters to use for band and music lessons. Certain school children were on a very stringent bus schedule because of the location of a school. Even noon hour activities were impossible as the dormitory children were bused to a hot lunch at Marshall School many times on a schedule that was quite disruptive of their regular class schedule.

In spite of the above restrictions there was participation especially in sports activities, such as intramurals, and playground games. (Basketball and baseball were the favorite games.) Some club memberships were reported. Many high school students expressed a definite desire for more participation, e.g., one high school girl wanted to be a pompon girl but felt that the dormitory regulations wouldn't permit her to do this. Another wished to be in Girls' League, but felt that she couldn't join for the same reason. In 1963 several high school students felt that the dormitory was too strict, that there was nothing to do on the weekends and that the student council was not organized. They would have preferred to spend more of their time at school than at the dormitory.

Classroom participation seldom approached that of typical middle-class Anglo youngsters. The Navajo children were quiet and rarely volunteered to answer questions in the classroom. This may be attributed to the fact that Navajo childhood-raising practices lead to personal withdrawal and passivity. The Navajo concept of goodness is the ability to get along

with people and corresponding generosity. A hypersensitivity to ridicule reflected in shyness and shame would preclude risking the embarrassment of an incorrect response.[27] When called upon, a child might answer; however, the teacher many times had to pursue the question in order to elicit an oral reply from some students. There was also considerable reticence to perform alone in front of the class. This behavior may be due in part to the language problem, as well as the feeling of embarrassment. Even in the Navajo culture there is a lack of verbal facility in front of strangers.[28] In smaller groups such as reading groups or during committee work this reticence to speak out was minimized.

In general the Navajo children did what was required and expected, but nothing extra.[29] Rarely would a small child participate in "Show and Tell." An amusing anecdote concerned a small girl who was the only dormitory Indian in the lower grades at her school. She had something to "tell" only on the day she was to go home for vacation when she would announce happily, "I'm going home after school!" Her classmates failed to grasp the significance of this because they went home after school every day.

With a little friendly coercion and much praise, many of the children who had artistic talent would enter the annual Junior Indian Art Show at the Museum of Northern Arizona. Others would participate on a track team for a field day. A few took part fully in all class activities. Some teachers

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[27]Leighton and Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[28]Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[29]Thompson, *Ibid*, p. 43, suggests that the acculturation process among the Navajo seems to engender a decrease in spontaniety and an increase in anxiety, restraint, and sensitivity.

found that separating the Navajos from one another forced more mixing during class but there was rarely any carry-over to the playground. The degree of class participation seemed to be related to the particular class and school situation rather than to the number of years the children had been attending public school. Where the class was composed primarily of minority group children--Mexican, Indian, and Negro, such as was the situation at the South Beaver School in 1963--the Navajo were the best students and seemed to participate a little more. But it was when a Navajo child was the only one or one of a few dormitory children in his class, that he appeared to identify more strongly with Anglo cultural patterns.

Approximately 50% of the students observed in the classroom demonstrated good social relations with all their classmates. Approximately 30% demonstrated good classroom participation. The remainder were shy, didn't volunteer, and spoke very quietly when called upon. A few of the students appeared to be confused by the teacher's instructions.

A large number of teachers indicated that the Navajo students were no behavior problem. The degree to which their "good behavior" affected their grades was a variable which could not be measured. Moreover, the teacher's description of a child's fitting into the class socially oftentimes was in terms of other Navajo students rather than the class in general.

A fourth criterion of acculturation was the evidence of an understanding and acceptance of the Anglo reward-sanction system, e.g., a desire for good grades, an education, to be neat, clean. In traditional Navajo culture success is defined as a healthy, handsome individual.[30] Fulfilling this Navajo definition of success does not require formal education. In Anglo culture,

[30]Leighton and Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

formal education provides a means of acquiring a job which in turn leads to the acquisition of material goods and success. The desire to earn good grades and procure an academic education plays a vital role in the public schools. Does the Navajo child understand and accept the Anglo concepts? The disparity between the two definitions and the corresponding relationship to formal education poses an adjustment problem for the Navajo students.

It appeared that the Navajo sought an "Anglo" education for two main reasons: (1) to learn English and, consequently, (2) to help his people. There was also some understanding that good marks were one of the requirements of admission to college. While the relationship between education and job opportunities was understood by some of the students, many possessed a vague idea of why they should remain in school. Thirty percent could not state a reason for remaining in school and another 51% could only provide a vague reason such as "to learn" or "to get an education." Yet many of the students stated that the worst thing that could happen at school would be to flunk, get kicked out, or do poorly on a test. The latter would demonstrate some progress toward accepting the school and its reward-sanction system.

In general there was little verbal evidence of the acceptance of the school's reward-sanction values. For the Navajo, education is pragmatic, necessary to cope with the dominant Anglo culture, but not defined in the same manner in Navajo adulthood as it is in Anglo society.

A fifth and related criterion of acculturation was a desire to participate in Anglo vocations once adulthood was attained. While examining vocational choices one must bear in mind that few of the children's fathers actually held steady jobs so there were no vocational

models readily available for them to observe. In spite of this 38 children gave definite vocational choices; one said he wanted to go to college. Eleven of those making choices stated that they did not want to live on the reservation when grown. Two youngsters who did not make a vocational choice also mentioned living away from home. Almost all of the rest specifically mentioned wanting to live "near home" on the reservation where often job opportunities in their chosen vocations would be very limited. Six respondents made alternate vocational choices such as "nurse" or "WAVE." Of the forty-four choices made, thirty-six would be considered "Anglo" vocations. This would indicate acculturation especially in view of the lack of vocational models. Interestingly, the most frequently chosen profession was nursing, the Anglo occupation with which Navajo families had probably had the most contact through the U.S. Public Health Service hospitals and clinics. While all of these children were in school observing daily the vocational role of teacher only two children mentioned this as a choice. The relative popularity of secretarial/office work and engineering posed some questions. Were the students aware of the job descriptions for those vocations? Where did they acquire the aspiration?

A sixth criterion of acculturation was the conformity to Anglo fads of behavior and dress. Judging acculturation from the clothing worn by the dormitory children proved to be most hazardous. The younger dormitory children were provided with school clothes by the Tribe, therefore they had little choice or chance to follow fads of dress. All of the children were dressed neatly in clean clothing and were well groomed when they left the dormitory for school. The boys usually wore jeans and sport shirts; the girls wore cotton dresses with sweaters. Shoes were often in poor condition and were of the oxford type. Hair styling allowed for much

TABLE I.

Vocational Choices

Vocation	Choice of Frequency	Subject Frequency	"Anglo?"
Nurse	9	8	yes
Secretary	7	6	yes
Engineer	6	6	yes
Housewife	4	4	no
Teacher	2	2	yes
Mechanic	2	2	yes
Sheèpherder	2	2	no
Scientist	1	1	yes
Welder	1	1	yes
Sign Painter	1	1	yes
Road Construction	1	1	yes
Super Market	1	1	yes
Carpenter	1	1	yes
Cook	1	1	no
Wash Clothes	1	1	no
Doctor	1	- second	yes
WAVE	1	- choice	yes
Stewardess	1	- only	yes
Commercial Artist	1	-	yes
Total	44	38	15 yes 4 no

individuality in the upper grades. Girls in the lower grades had a prescribed haircut--identical short bobs and the younger boys had short crew cuts. The big change seemed to occur in seventh grade even though this grade was in the elementary school. The girls ratted and rolled their hair and tried to duplicate current hair styles often with rather inappropriate results. The boys began to grease the longer side hair. In junior high and high schools many of the dormitory students were quite well dressed. Apparently by this age they often located sources of income and used some of it for "Anglo" type personal adornment. The sources ranged from summer jobs to working at the dormitory. On occasion an older sibling who was a wage earner supplied some spending money. Many of the students seemed to be very appearance conscious. Occasionally this was manifested in a refusal to wear eyeglasses.

While most of the Navajo children wore school clothing when at home on the reservation, some returned to the traditional Navajo dress which was eminently more practical. Some girls claimed that they wore pants at home which they never did at school even in bitter cold weather. One of the reasons for use of school clothing at home was undoubtedly because the dormitory child had the school clothes and a younger sibling had probably inherited her traditional dress. During the past decade there has appeared on the reservation a Navajo teen-age clothing pattern. Among the girls this consists of long hair, a white blouse or shirt, pegged blue jeans and western boots. The boys' pattern is not as well defined but generally "western."

In terms of clothing, therefore, it becomes rather difficult to determine what is Anglo, what is Navajo, and what is just unique to the individual and/or his group.

From the younger children whose behavior certainly did not single them out at school to the teenagers who were rebelling against adults and rules, the Navajo were part and parcel of their peer groups at school. The main deviations were the extreme quietness and the noted lack of behavior problems. When the dormitory children were isolated as when lining up to get on their bus, they suddenly "came to life" and exhibited all the typical pranks of poking, pushing, and teasing one another. The shyness, even with adults, seemed to vanish into the air as group solidarity increased. Many of the teachers complained about the increase in Navajo "misbehavior" which in reality consisted of picking up and using typical school behavior patterns. The frequently voiced desire on the part of the teacher to have a whole room full of Navajo children as they were no trouble suggests a negative teacher attitude toward the acculturation of the Navajo. Apparently the teacher would prefer that the acculturation process was to be fragmentary and highly selective, including only those patterns of behavior of which school authorities approve, and rejecting many which are more typical of Anglo students.

The seventh criterion of acculturation was the acceptance of teachers and administrators as authority figures who are to be obeyed. In Navajo culture no one coerces another. A parent does not command his child in the sense of giving a direct order. Instead he uses the authority of Navajo culture, its taboos, structure, procedures, and religion. The refusal of a parent to speak or make choices for a child was very apparent during the field work on the reservation. The children were not going to boarding school at Flagstaff under coercion of an authority figure of their culture. Living in comparative isolation on the reservation, a Navajo child comes into contact mainly with relatives for whom roles and behavior of and toward are prescribed by the culture. The non-aggressive

scrupulously fair discipline of the hogan is quite foreign to the public school where time is of the essence in handling deviant behavior.[31]

The intrinsic passivity of the Navajo child precludes any disruptive behavior with which an authority figure would have to deal. Usually the teacher considered withdrawal coincident with good behavior. Occasionally the interpretation was sullen or moody, defiant or "chip on the shoulder." In 1963 only two behavior problems were identified. The two cases, both fifth grade boys, were very similar. Both youngsters rated slightly above grade level on standardized achievement tests and received average or below average grades. Although attending different schools, several of their behavior patterns were almost identical. The teacher reports were reinforced by classroom observation. The boys preferred to be left alone to their own devices, reading comic books, library books, drawing, etc. They would answer when called upon only after much prodding by the teacher yet would shout out answers at will when so moved. Both were considered physically aggressive which often took the form of bullying. Reprimands elicited rebelliousness and impudence.

Aside from these two "problems" the rest of the dormitory students (97%) seemed to accept the authority vested in school personnel. They complained bitterly about dormitory regulations but not about school. Being liked by the teacher was important, often more important than being liked by classmates. In most cases a talk with the principal concerned scheduling of classes or future plans, rather than a reprimand for misbehavior. On those occasions when a Navajo was asked to help school authorities solve certain problems concerning other Navajo they were

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[31]Leighton and Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

cooperative. Otherwise only a few of the children had ever talked with their principal.

Certainly direct orders by teachers were being followed daily and teacher requests met with compliance. A teacher who considered passivity disobedient might have elicited a real culture conflict problem but this did not occur. Some teachers treated the Navajo as if they were no different from anyone else while others seemed particularly interested in Navajo culture and Navajo students. There were no incidents reported by teachers, administrators, the classroom observer, or students wherein authority was doubted or flagrantly flouted.[32]

Authority acceptance would seem to be an excellent example of school success particularly so because there was evidence of adaptation, or cultural modification, on the part of the dominant culture in accepting and not penalizing the passivity and withdrawal of the Navajo student.

The eighth criterion of acculturation was the acceptance of responsible leadership within the school. As has been previously noted, leadership in traditional Navajo culture is defined differently than in middle-class Anglo culture. The phenomenon of natural leaders emerging spontaneously in a given situation operated with the Navajo. Though there was certainly no active seeking of leadership at any level by the Navajo students, athletic skills which relate to the Navajo cultural concept of a healthy body were very evident and led to assumptions of leadership. Other skills utilized at school such as artistic ability, shop skills, and academic prowess were rewarded through leadership bestowal by teachers and peers.

Although many of the dormitory students could not be classified as leaders (over half had never demonstrated any leadership), approximately

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[32]Among the sample population.

30% were described by their teachers as possessing leadership potential. Naturally some of the students were leaders of groups of dormitory children and very small school groups but even then the leadership was weak. Of the students who responded to the question as to whether they would like to lead or not, 65 percent indicated that they would prefer to let someone else lead.

Leadership per se is considered a very desirable trait in Anglo middleclass culture and especially so in the school. It appeared that many teachers were grasping for some small example of leadership to cite because of its desirability and seemed reluctant to admit that no leadership was being exhibited. Consistent with doing what is expected, the Navajo student would perform a leadership chore if requested.

The ninth criterion of acculturation was the choice of companions, playmates, and friends from non-Navajo groups. Realizing that out of school the dormitory students were limited to their own cultural group, did they play with children of other ethnic groups at school? Certainly a preference for friends from a different group would be an indicator of acculturation. Did they want to choose out-group children for friends? Did they make such choices? Did they admire children from other ethnic groups? The answers to these questions will draw heavily on the sociogram material which was administered only to grades 1 through 7 (41 children).[33] On the sociograms the dormitory Indian children most often chose other Indians for friends. However, they admired and were admired across cultural lines.

On the playground all groups mixed easily for organized group games such as baseball. Otherwise Indian boys and girls appeared to seek out

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[33]See topic V for more details.

each other even when from different classes. In the upper grades where classes changed each period, the dormitory students usually went to and from classes alone. A few of the Navajo children themselves said that they should be placed only a few to a class because it forced them to "mix" a lot more. In-group identity was increased in the South Beaver School where the student population was one-third Mexican, one-third Negro and one-third Navajo, because the Navajo students did not relate well to the Negro students. The Navajo resented the aggressiveness of the Negro students. It was at the South Beaver School that the Navajo students were not only outstanding in "good" behavior, but performing very well academically.

Summary

It would appear from this evidence that in Flagstaff, at least, the goals of the Bordertown Dormitory Program were being met with moderate to good success. Navajo students were becoming fluent in English, they were beginning to learn and accept some of the customs, values, and behaviors of the national society.[34] Progress toward these goals, however, was affected by an accommodation by both the school system and the dormitory organization (on the other). An example of the former would be the natural passivity of Navajos when encountering new situations and persons to be redefined by the teachers as "good behavior" which should be rewarded. An example of the latter would be the conflict between the dormitory schedule which required the students to "check in" at 4 p.m. and the opportunity to participate in extra-class, after-school activities.

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[34]In 1968 one of the members of the research team felt that this acculturation was very superficial.

Other factors might have included the lack of life goals totally within the meaning of the Anglo culture and the lack of knowledge of culturally prescribed behavior patterns. Certainly the absence of a motivation toward complete assimilation was a factor. With the exception of a small number of teachers, the exclusion of Navajo and American Indian history and current problems from both the dormitory and the school program made it difficult for the dormitory students to identify their role as an adult Navajo in American society.[35]

IV

The Emotional Response of Navajo Children to School Situations

An Emotional Response Test patterned after a similar test administered on the Navajo reservation in 1942 and reported by Havighurst and Neugarten, was given verbally during the third of a series of interviews and the responses tape-recorded.[36] During the test the subject was asked to describe situations in which he was happy, sad, afraid, angry, ashamed, and to tell what were the best and worst things that could happen to him in school. The test attempted to derive attitudes toward other people in various interpersonal situations within the school as well as attitudes toward a variety of school objects and situations. In this respect, the test gives information regarding the cultural expectations which surround the school and the child; who punishes, who rewards, what is desirable, what is dangerous, what is threatening, etc. Since the language of the

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[35]Twenty-two students (1963) indicated that they had received some instruction by their parents and/or relatives in Navajo history and life.

[36]Havighurst and Neugarten, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-83.

test had been standardized by experimentation prior to its administration in 1942, no changes in the wording were made with the exception of adding the phrase "in school." Thus a series of questions were asked such as "Can you remember when you were very happy in school?" "What is the best thing that could happen to you in school?" etc.

Responsiveness to this test was much less than when Navajo children had responded to their own home environment on the test in 1942. Not only were there fewer specific positive responses, but there were very few multiple responses to the same inquiry. For example, only one object or behavior could make a child sad as against several behaviors in their experience on the reservation. The positive specific responses increased with the multiple factor of both age and length of residence in the dormitory rather than according to sex or reservation residence, as were the variables in the previous study.

The responses were categorized on an inductive basis utilizing the *verbatum* responses to the questions. Although a fairly large number of miscellaneous responses remained after the categorizing, they rarely exceeded 10% of the total number of responses to the question. Furthermore, many of these miscellaneous responses were nonsensical.

Although all but one of the children indicated that they had been happy outside of school, half of the children indicated that they had never been happy in school. This reaction to school life corresponds accurately to the previous study which reported that only a very low percentage of Navajo youth associated happiness with going to school.[37] This lack of responses to school life was further indicated by the fact that 56 percent of the children didn't like anything about school.

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[37]Havighurst and Neugarten, *op. cit.*, Table 4A, page 36.

TABLE 2.

Associate Happiness with School Life

Response: "Have never been happy at school."
Response: "Nothing made me happy."
Response: "I can't remember."

Age	Male	Female	Total	% of Total Sample
8-12	6	13	19	53%
13-21	7	10	17	49%
Total	13	23	36	51%

TABLE 3.

Things Navajo Children Like about School

Response: "Don't like anything about school."
Response: "I don't know."

Age	Male	Female	Total	% of Total Sample
8-12	10	13	23	64%
13-21	7	10	17	49%
Total	17	23	40	56%

Of those who responded that they had been happy in school, 29 percent of the teenagers (13-21 years) indicated that they were happy when they received good grades. The second most frequently mentioned happy occasion was school parties, this time mentioned most frequently by children in grades two through five. A positive response to school appears to be associated with an increase in age for both male and female students. This may be due in part to the fact that for the younger children, summer vacation is an escape from school, an opportunity to herd sheep and freedom from authority figures, while for the older children summer vacation poses a dilemma since they are no longer interested in herding and yet can find little interesting work to occupy them during the summer months. Thus 64 percent of the younger students (8-12 yrs.) indicated that they didn't like anything especially about school as against 49 percent for the teen-age (13-21 yrs.) students. The older students who expressed themselves on those aspects of school which they liked indicated school in general rather than any specific area of the school program. The school was becoming a center for their interests, both socially and academically, thus the generalized attraction. Those students who did indicate an interest in specific school subjects usually listed the performance type subject, e.g., music, physical education, art. Another small percentage (12%) of the students indicated that they liked the personal relationships with teachers and friends whom they encountered in school. Within the happiness category nearly one fourth (23%) of the specific responses fell within the miscellaneous category. These responses ranged from field trips to "happy when school is out."

The impassive reaction to school was further re-enforced when the children were asked, "What was the best thing that could happen to them

in school?" Sixty-nine percent replied that they didn't know. This was especially true of the younger children (8-12 yrs.) of whom 94% replied in this fashion. Of the older students who answered the question with a specific response, 31% indicated that receiving good grades was the best thing that could happen to them. When the miscellaneous comments such as "to graduate" or "to receive a fellowship" were added to the good grade category, nearly all the older students associated good performance in school with the best thing that could happen to them. Thus, half of the older students, but few of the younger students, have accepted the Anglo school reward system as the criterion for their success, and in this respect demonstrate a degree of acculturation.

If the majority of the Navajo children remained impassive toward the positive aspects of school life, was their reaction then primarily negative? No, there didn't seem to be a negative reaction to school either. Sixty-five percent of the older children and 81% of the younger children stated that they have never been sad in school.

Of those who had become sad in school, most of them, particularly the older children, became sad when their school performance became poor. This counterbalances the pleasure of the older students on performing well in school.

Sixty-three percent of the sample with 86% of the younger children had been ashamed at something which they did at school. Those who indicated that they had been ashamed, all of them within the teen-age group, had been ashamed of making a mistake in front of the class. A similar large percentage (65%) of the students never felt embarrassed for something another child did in school. Fourteen percent of the teenagers were embarrassed when another student was ridiculed in front of others.

TABLE 4.

The Best Thing That Could Happen in School

Response: "I don't know."

Age	Male	Female	Total	% of Total Sample
8-12	15	19	34	94%
13-21	3	12	15	43%
Total	18	31	49	69%

TABLE 5.

Associate School with Sadness

Response: "Never sad in school."

Response: "Can't remember that anything made me sad."

Age	Male	Female	Total	% of Total Sample
8-12	15	19	34	94%
13-21	3	12	15	43%
Total	18	31	49	69%

Part of the reason for not eliciting more specific responses to these questions might be due in part to language difficulties, since in the Navajo culture these terms are more associated with shyness in the presence of an authority figure rather than associated with guilt feelings as in the Anglo culture. In the previous study shame was expressed as embarrassment before others and this sentiment appears to be carried over into the school situation.[38] Since within the Navajo culture shame is utilized as a discipline technique, Navajo children are very sensitive to public disapproval, especially in the presence of members of the dominant Anglo society. The data from other phases of the current study seems to suggest that the degree of shyness on the part of the Navajo student is positively correlated with an increase in the ratio of Anglo to Navajo students in the classroom.

The now common majority of the students (65%) stated that they had never been afraid while at school. Also the younger students as a group (75%) were less fearful of school situations than the older students. Those students who expressed a fear of school situations, especially the older students (29%), became fearful when they were not prepared for a test or hadn't completed their homework.

A similar majority of the students (62%) indicated that they had never been angry in school, the larger number being among the younger students (78%). Those who had become angry did so whenever involved in or observing physical aggressiveness. Two of the younger male students became angry when someone made fun of Navajo Indians. This reaction to aggression collaborates the previous study on the reservation which

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[38]Havighurst and Neugarten, *op. cit.*, Table 9a, p. 41.

indicated aggression was a source of anger to Navajo children.[39] In the data on the social adjustment of Navajo students to the school, there seems to be a negative reaction on the part of Navajo students toward Negro students, not so much because of prejudice but because Negro students are too aggressive by Navajo standards.

Sixty percent of the Navajo students could not (or would not) describe the worst thing that could happen to them in school.[40]

TABLE 6.

The Worst Thing That Could Happen in School

Response: "Don't know."

Age	Male	Female	Total	% of Total Sample
8-12	11	17	28	78%
13-21	4	11	15	43%
Total	15	28	43	61%

The younger children again were less expressive than the older. Half (49%) of the older children felt that the worst thing that could happen to them was to be removed from school, e.g., flunk, not to graduate, etc.

Slightly over 50 percent (56%) of the Navajo students didn't dislike anything about school life. Of those who indicated a dislike

[39]Havighurst and Neugarten, *op. cit.*, Table *a, p. 40.

[40]Perhaps because of embarrassment in front of the interviewer.

for school, slightly less than one third (29%) disliked school in general. Antipathy was also expressed against teachers and academic exercises, e.g., homework, tests, etc. Verbalized dislike of school increased among the teen-age students.

Thus in terms of negative reactions to school situations, the majority of the Navajo children, especially the younger children, remained impassive to the school. Negative reactions concerned poor school performance, being placed in or associated with situations in which one could be ridiculed, and engaging in or observing aggressive behavior. It is difficult to determine the degree which the natural reluctance of Navajos to talk about anything bad influenced the responses to these questions.

Nevertheless, the results of the Emotional Response Test appear to be an accurate estimate of the reaction to public school by Navajo students since comparable reactions were obtained when questions were asked concerning school life in the other phases of the current study. For example, 42 percent of the students don't talk about school when among themselves at the dormitory. School in general, teachers, subjects, and homework appear to be the major topics when they do talk about school. Further, 84% of the children stated that they wouldn't change anything about school even if they could.

When asked whether all Navajo children should go to school, 69% of the younger children and 80% of the older children felt that they should. Nearly half (44%), however, could or would not provide a reason for attending school. Another 20% could only provide a vague "to get an education" or "to learn" as a reason for going to school. Sex differences among the reasons for attending school were not pronounced although there was a tendency among the older children for boys to suggest "to get jobs" while

the girls chose "to learn more." Among the younger children who responded to this question there was more emphasis upon learning to speak English--a natural response since this is probably their greatest difficulty with school at this point in their school career. The length of residence in the dorm appeared to influence their decision as to whether all Navajo children should go to school. The longer the residence in the dorm the greater the tendency to require all Navajo children to attend school. To a certain extent this indicates a degree of acculturation as within Navajo society it is rare for one individual to speak for or suggest the action which another person should follow.

TABLE 7.

Should All Navajo Children Be Required to Attend School?

Response: "All Navajo children should go to school."

Age	Male	Female	Total	% of Total Sample
8-12	13	12	25	69%
13-21	13	15	28	80%
Total	26	27	53	75%

Summary

Unlike the results of a similar test administered on the reservation in 1942, the results of this test elicited little response among the Navajo dormitory students attending public school in Flagstaff, Arizona. This was particularly true of the younger students. The apathy toward school may

be due to several factors. First, the lack of cultural fit between the school program and the home life of the Navajo student creates a situation wherein the student has no basis to draw upon with which to judge and react to school situations. Thus their reaction was generalized, diffuse, lacking in specificity to particular situations.

Second, the residual characteristics of Navajo culture still present in younger students and to a certain degree in the older students may have affected their answering direct questions, even though they had been exposed to this procedure in much of their school experience. Direct questions are never asked in Navajo society. The solution to this dilemma for the child is usually to avoid answering the question or to respond with "I don't know." Many of the teachers interviewed as part of the current major study indicated the extreme difficulty they had in drawing information from their Navajo students.

The gradual loss of their reluctance to answer direct questions together with an assumption of the Anglo school reward-sanction system permitted the older students to react more readily to school situations. Their concern with grades, homework, and success in school indicated an increase in acculturation. The degree of acculturation appeared to be associated with an increase in age, the length of residence in the dormitory, and the degree of mobility from one boarding school to another. Those students among the older age group who readily responded to the questions were the students who had attended more than one boarding school.

Also unlike the previous study on the reservation, no regional differences emerged in the responses. A comparison of the responses of the children from the Leupp areas with those of the Navajo Mountain

area was made with no significant differences emerging. Probably the common experience of the dormitory filtered out any regional differences.

Third, for most of the Navajo children the public school experience was something to be tolerated rather than becoming something genuinely significant in their lives. On the previous reservation study, the reactions to the question on the best thing that could happen to them referred to those aspects of life which provided pleasure and personal comfort.[41] To date there is little evidence that the school provides any of these kinds of comfort to the student, thus their unemotional reaction to school life in Flagstaff.

Thus it may be concluded that even though many of the Navajo children felt a commitment to formal education, their participation in formal education did not generate any strong emotional reactions to school life.

V

The Social Adjustment of Navajo Students to Public Schools

Teachers described their Navajo dormitory students as fitting in well with their classmates. Many teachers indicated that these students were well behaved, but few teachers provided qualified statements of the interpersonal relationships among their students. It was decided, therefore, that an in-depth analysis of social relationships of the Navajo children would be undertaken. The many facets investigated included: Who does the Navajo child call his friend? By whom is he considered a friend? Who does the Navajo admire? By whom is he admired? Does he have many friends in his room at school? Is he admired by his classmates to any great extent? Is there a relationship between the number of friends or amount of admiration and the number of Indian children in the particular class?

[41]Havighurst and Neugarten, *op. cit.*, Table 5a, p. 37.

Does the racial-ethnic composition of the school have a bearing on assimilation? Does the age of the child and/or the length of time in public school affect friendship or admiration patterns? Is there any sex difference apparent in the acculturation process? To what degree is there a Navajo peer group? Does the existence of a Navajo peer group diminish the opportunities for acculturation?

The primary means of gathering information for this particular part of the investigation was the administration of a sociogram (see Appendix B), and observations in the classroom and on the playground to supplement the sociogram material.

The sociograms were administered by the regular classroom teacher following the directions. The teachers were well aware of the study being conducted and were very cooperative. In all cases they reported that their children enjoyed doing the sociograms. The observations were done by a trained observer following an observation schedule (Appendix C). The children were not aware of being observed because the teacher introduced the observer as a student from the college observing the teacher. As this was a very common occurrence in the Flagstaff classrooms, school proceeded at a normal level. No threat was posed to the particular children in the sample as they were unaware of any connection between the study and this observer.

For the particular segment of the study here reported, only those pupils in elementary school were included as they were in self-contained classrooms. Twenty-five classes were studied but one set of sociograms was not available for analysis. The sample remaining consisted of 41 children in 24 classes in grades one through seven, 18 boys and 23 girls. (See Table 8.) They attended six different elementary schools in Flagstaff.

TABLE 8.

Grade Distribution of Navajo Students with Admiration and Frienship Choices

Grade	Distribution	Admiration		Friendship	
		Isolate	Four +	Isolate	Four +
1	1	0	0	0	0
2	1	0	1	0	1
3	5	0	0	0	1
4	8	1	1	1	1
5	9	3	2	1	1
6	8	0	2	0	1
7	9	1	3	0	0
Total	41	5	9	2	5

Referring to Table 9 indicating the number of times the sample children were chosen on both the friendship and admiration scales, the extremes are most readily evident. Two Indian girls were never chosen as friends; they were isolates. Neither of them was chosen on the admiration question either. One isolate was the only Indian girl in her fifth grade class at Marshall School although there were four Indian boys in the class. Her teacher considered her well-liked and well-adjusted in the class. It was the fourth year she had come to school in Flagstaff and she had three siblings also at the dormitory. The other isolate was from South Beaver School where her fourth grade class was composed of nine

TABLE 9.

Quantitative Choice Patterns

The Number of Times Chosen as a Friend		
	Boys	Girls
0	0	2
1	5	6
2	5	6
3	5	4
4	2	3
5	0	0
6	1	0
Total	18	21
The Number of Times Admired		
0	2	3
1	4	7
2	3	5
3	4	3
4	2	1
5	1	1
6	0	0
7	1	0
8	0	1
11	0	2
17	1	0
Total	18	23

Indians, eight Mexican-Americans and five Negroes. Her teacher labeled her as shy and suffering from poor health.

No Indian child in the sample was chosen more than six times as a friend and most were chosen once or twice. One Navajo dormitory student was chosen the most times of the girls in her seventh grade class at South Beaver School but there were no stars in the predominantly Indian class. In another class where an Indian girl was chosen five times all of her selectors were Indian girls. The boy who was chosen six times as a friend was from a predominantly Indian fifth grade class also at South Beaver School.

While there were five isolates on the admiration scale, there were also five children chosen more than six times. The boy who was chosen 17 times was from a rather evenly divided sixth grade class at South Beaver School with seven Indians, nine Negroes and 11 Mexican-Americans. His teacher rated him outstanding in all areas. It was observed that he did not stick to the Indian children and while very shy during interviews he felt it important to be liked by his classmates.

Two girls were chosen 11 times; one of whom was from the same seventh grade class as the girl who was chosen by most of the girls in her class on the friendship scale. It was her first year in Flagstaff; her teacher rated her a good student, one of three top students in his class. In that class an Indian boy not in the sample was one of two boy stars and the child chosen most in the class was also an Indian, a girl not in the sample (chosen 16 times). The teacher of this class was a man of Mexican descent who seemed to like his students even though his students were somewhat rude to him and took advantage of his hearing problem. The other girl chosen 11 times was one of two Indians in her class, both girls, and was the girl

chosen most by her predominantly white classmates. The star in the class was a Negro boy, the only Negro in the sixth grade class at Mt. Elden School. The young male teacher of this class was completing his first year of teaching and was quite permissive. He said it took most of the year to make the Navajo girl feel comfortable even though it was her fourth year at Flagstaff. In her interview she said she liked her teacher and all of her classmates.

The girl who was chosen eight times on the admiration scale was part of a class who chose her more than any other girl and whose star was an Indian boy who interestingly chose no one on the admiration scale. This seventh grade class at Emerson School consisted of 12 Indians, eight Mexican-Americans, seven white, one oriental and one Negro. The teacher was a young man who taught in a less traditional manner than most of the teachers observed. He was quite permissive and felt that our girl was not too well adjusted but improving.[42] She had a hearing loss and language difficulty. Although it was her fourth year at Flagstaff she had attended day school on the reservation previously.

The boy chosen seven times was a second grader at South Beaver School in a class of twelve Mexican-Americans, eight Indians and six Negroes whose star was a Negro girl followed closely by a Negro boy. There was much cross-sex selection in that class.

Of the five isolates in admiration patterns, two girls were also isolates in friendship patterning (see Table 9). The third girl was chosen twice in the friendship category, appeared to be very self-confident and happy in school, and was extremely well liked by her teacher. One of the

[42]One question which this fact raises is to what degree might teaching style affect the response of students on sociometric techniques?

boy isolates in admiration was chosen as a friend by three Indian boys and the choices were mutual. He appeared to be an isolate when observed and his teacher said he withdrew frequently. He was one of the youngest in his class and played with younger children on the playground. The other boy isolate was chosen once as a friend by an Indian boy yet had been elected class secretary. He had just recently moved from the dormitory to town with his family, was a poor student and had been socially promoted to the fifth grade. Three of the classes from which the isolates came had a predominance of white students while the other two had no white children at all.

In analyzing the choice of Indians by Indians on the friendship basis, 15 Indian girls in our sample were chosen only by other Indians, always girls, and 13 Indian boys in the sample were chosen only by Indian boys, regardless of the number of times chosen. Eight of the girls and seven of the boys chose only Indians for friends, always of the same sex. On the admiration scale four girls and five boys in our sample were chosen only by other Indians while four girls and three boys chose only Indians. There was cross-sex selection on the admiration scale. Naturally there would have to be at least four Indians of the same sex in a single class to make choosing Indians exclusively possible, as they were asked to make three choices and complied with this request. To be chosen only by Indians would not require any special number of Indians in the class as many were chosen only once or twice.

Eighteen Indian children qualified as the most admired child in their class (chosen by the entire class as one of their admiration choices). The teachers of the four Navajo children who were admired the most were all

men and tended toward more permissive teaching philosophy and classroom freedom.

Each of the children in the sample was observed for an entire school day though often two or three in the same class were observed simultaneously. The observer sat in the classroom and accompanied the class to recesses, assemblies, music class, etc. As the dormitory students were transported as a group to lunch together at the Marshall School cafeteria, the observer did not accompany them. In addition to the observations the teachers proved very verbal concerning the sample children and much incidental information was obtained through casual conversations with the teachers on the playground. It was observed that the dormitory youngsters seemed to "come to life" when they were isolated as a group to take the bus to lunch or home. The dormitory children at South Beaver School where so many observations were made became quite accustomed to and curious about the observer even to the point of overcoming natural shyness to ask her questions. In the extreme cases of isolates or popularity, much supplementary material from the individual files was referred to including interviews with the teacher and students.

Most Indian dormitory children had friends in their school classes though rarely more than one or two. Most often their friends were Indian and always of the same sex. When an Indian child had a larger number of friends, the class and school were composed of a large number of Indians. There did not appear to be any significant difference in friendship patterns of boys and girls. There was some relationship between being well liked and being a good student but the converse did not appear to be true. If named a friend by more than three persons, it was likely the student was in the upper elementary school. The length of time in school in

Flagstaff had no apparent influence on classroom friendship. The dormitory children were not necessarily placed in the same class or school in consecutive years; neither were they placed in the same school with siblings.

Most Indian children were admired by their classmates. While five of the sample were not admired by anyone in their classes, just as many were admired considerably by classmates. One boy was the most admired student in his class and two girls were the most admired girls in their respective classes. Indian children were admired by and admired non-Indian class members frequently. Friendship and admiration did not mean the same thing to the children as rarely were the same people chosen as friends and for admiration though no restriction was placed upon this practice. As with friendship patterns, admiration patterns seem to be affected by the class ethnic composition. There is no significant difference in admiration patterns of boys and girls though sex lines are crossed in admiration choices. There appeared to be a positive connection between admiration and scholarship. The teacher in the classroom exerted some influence on admiration patterns as evidenced by classroom atmosphere. Being admired correlates positively with the year in elementary school but non-admiration also occurs more in upper grades. The number of years the child had been in the Flagstaff dormitory and school system had no apparent bearing on admiration.

The California Test of Personality was administered individually and orally to the 27 secondary school students of the sample. Secondary in this case was eighth to twelfth grades inclusive. Only the Social Adjustment half of the test was used and one scale, Family Relations, was omitted as irrelevant. This means that no total social adjustment or total adjustment scores were available.

The California Test of Personality is based upon modes of response to specific situations. Fifteen items are used on each component and percentile norms are calculated from a table. The results of the test are intended to identify typical maladjustment patterns as an aid to the classroom teacher and guidance personnel in providing accurate information. Usually this information would be only one part of the test profile of the student and would supplement and complement other information. When analyzed in many different ways little significant information was derived that had relevance for the study. As a group and individually the scores were inconsistent. Lack of relevance of specific questions as well as unfamiliar vocabulary had undue influence on responses. For these reasons this data and its analysis are not included in the final report.

VI

The Reaction of Navajo Students to Dormitory Life

When in 1968 the opportunity to visit the dormitory and interview students and dormitory staff members arrived, the composition of the students at the dormitory had changed since 1963. The students were not only older, but there was a cadre of students who had spent several years in the Flagstaff dormitory program. They were, therefore, more sophisticated and willing to speak out on their reaction to living in the dormitory and attending the public schools in Flagstaff. (See page 12 for details of the sample.)

In general, the students considered the dormitory program in Flagstaff superior to other alternatives for an education which were open to them. One of the specific reasons for Flagstaff being better was that there was

more school integration. Approximately two-thirds of the students wished to continue their education beyond high school. Few, however, were able to define a specific vocation toward which they were aspiring.[43] Since few students would suggest a specific area of study which they wished to pursue which was not being accommodated by the school, one might assume that they were content with the current school program. There were no subject areas which the students as a group liked more than others. They did, however, tend to dislike mathematics and social studies. The contentment with the school program is also reflected in the fact that 75 percent of the students would not wish to make any changes in the school program. One of the students, perhaps a little ahead of his times, made the following statement:

> I'd change the whole educational system. First of all, the school system should be well integrated. The students should have something to do with choosing the subjects and their teachers. They should all run the school, not just the administration. The students, the teacher, and all the rest, should be the administration.

Most of the students were happy with their teachers and felt that they were well qualified. They tended to perceive the role of the teacher as one who imparts information.

Over half of the students knew little or nothing of their Navajo cultural heritage. Many students stated that they would like to learn more about their tribe, especially its history. They were about equally divided between the home and the school as to the place to learn their cultural heritage. A little more than half of the students would like to

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[43]According to Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 42, the Navajo are not accustomed to think in terms of the abstract or toward prolonged long-range goals but rather in terms of simple concrete actions toward immediate, obvious goals.

see the Navajo language taught in school. A number of students (37%) felt that some ideas could be taught better if they were taught in Navajo.

Approximately half of the students had non-Indian friends as well as Indian friends. Most of these felt that there were no basic differences between their non-Indian and their Indian friends. A few had Mexican-American and Negro friends. Their best friends, of course, were all from the dormitory. The primary reasons for their selection of best friends were that they were easy to talk with, they came from the same area of the reservation, or they were relatives.

Most of the parents visit their children only a few times in the year. A few students have never had their parents visit them. When the parents do visit and talk about school, they oftentimes encourage their children to remain at school and work hard.

The after school and vacation activities have not changed since the 1963 study. While on vacation most of the students help their families with the chores and herd sheep. At the dorm the major activities are doing their homework, watching T.V., cleaning, and playing sports. Five of the students stated that they would like to acquire after-school work but that they couldn't find employment.

Two-thirds of the students preferred living in the dormitory to living at home. For these the dormitory provided them an opportunity to keep regular hours, to be well fed, to keep clean and to be warm all with a minimum of effort thus freeing them to concentrate on their education. If at home, they felt that too much time would be taken away from their school work just to provide for the essentials of living. Another feature of the dorm which was attractive was the fact that they have many

friends at the dorm and that there were many activities in which to participate. Some felt bored at home. One individual felt that he was an expense at home, and therefore was "forced" to live at the dormitory in the winter.[44] Several students stated that the availability of the tutors to help them with their school assignments was a distinct advantage of living at the dormitory over living at home. For sentimental reasons the students would prefer living at home, but for practical reasons most of them preferred living at the dormitory.

There was, however, much criticism of the dormitory aides and some of the regulations such as not permitting the students to receive phone calls from friends and relatives. One feature of the student-dormitory aide relationship which the students disliked the most was that the "aides talk about you behind your back." Some of the students had attempted to gain the support of the recently constituted Navajo Youth Organization to ameliorate the situation. The dormitory student council was recently replaced with the Navajo Youth Organization with affiliates at other schools and dormitories on and off the reservation. In many instances the students were able to find some person on the dormitory staff with whom they could communicate even though this person was not assigned to them.

The daily schedule at the dormitory as described by the students is as follows:

5:00 A.M. The lights are turned on.[45]

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[44]By "forced" he explained that his parents were dead and that he was living with his grandparents who couldn't afford to buy groceries for his food.

[45]When one of the research team members described the early rising as "barbaric" to a Navajo student, the response was a laugh with the statement that the early hour of rising was "traditional Navajo" (before sunrise).

6:00 A.M.	Everybody must be up by this time.
6:20 A.M.	Report to work detail. If the student is late for the work detail he is "campused" for the weekend.
6:20-7:00 A.M.	Chores--special detail assigned to everyone.
7:00 A.M.	Breakfast.
7:30-8:00 A.M.	Leave for school.
4:00 P.M.	Return to dormitory.
5:00 P.M.	Supper.
5:30 P.M.	T.V.
6:30-7:30 P.M.	Study hall for grades below Senior High School.
6:30-8:30 P.M.	Special study hall for older students receiving poor grades.
7:30-8:30 P.M.	Study hall for Senior High School.
9:00 P.M.	Bedtime for younger children.
10:00 P.M.	Bedtime for older children. The ten o'clock bedtime applied to Friday and Saturday nights as well. It provided a source of frustration to the older students who wished to attend basketball games or record hops at the high school as they were forced to leave these activities early.

The major mechanism for disciplining the students was by restricting them to the dormitory for a period ranging from one week to a month. Even if there were some social activity at the gymnasium, they were not permitted to attend. The length of restriction could be reduced by assuming additional work details. A few of the students felt that the assignment of restrictions was rather arbitrary and that they received no counseling when they did something wrong.[46] Another group of students indicated that they never got into trouble. The latter indicated that they sort of enjoyed

[46]This contradicts the description of a well-functioning guidance and counseling program described on page 23.

the rules and described those students who got into trouble as being "snotty." The older the children the more resentful they were of the "great number of rules" and the restrictions they received for breaking the rules.

Some incidental observations which were made during the course of the student interviews included:

"The inter-dormitory competition provides an excellent opportunity for the students to participate in sports. It also brings together friends who have been separated through attending different boarding schools."

"The rules for running the dormitory are very out-dated and need changing. The students should be involved in changing the rules."

"There is a great need for more counseling and for up-grading the quality of the dormitory staff so that they can perform this function. Some of the students are smarter and better educated than the dormitory staff."

"Many of the students don't have any ideas as to what they are going to do when they grow up. They try one thing and then another and just waste their time. We should hire qualified Navajo teachers who know their people and know their problems so that they can help the students decide what is best for them."

Perhaps the following quotation of a student's final statement to the interviewer aptly sums up the general reaction to the Bordertown Dormitory Program:

> It's about the dorm. I think that nowadays there are more kids going to the Indian schools on the reservation than to public school. I think it's best for them to go to school with other nationalities. You know what they are like and what they think about you. I think it's better to have bordertown schools than Indian schools. I think you really gain a lot from it. It's better to be with white people and off the reservation, yet in a way it's

better on the reservation because you will never forget the culture and the history and I don't think we should lose these things.

The students felt that it was to their advantage to go to school in Flagstaff, yet they were concerned at their loss of the traditional life and at times felt that they might end up "not knowing who you are."

VII

The Perception of Their Role by the Dormitory Personnel

During their visit to the Flagstaff dormitory in 1968, the field team of the National Study of American Indian Education interviewed a random sample of 15 members of the dormitory staff. The major focus of the interviews was to ascertain the perception of the staff members of the role of the dormitory in the Bordertown Dormitory Program and their contribution to the fulfillment of that role. The random sample included persons in all kinds of positions from the professional staff such as counselors and instructional aides to cooks, tutors, and typists. Two persons in the sample were in their 20's, three in their 30's, six in their 40's and four in their 50's. Five were male, and ten female. Seven had a high school education, three some college, and five had pursued graduate work. Six had no previous experience in dormitories. Two were working at the dorm for their first year, while three had worked on the staff for seven years, and three for nine years. Seventy-five percent of the sample were Indian.

Major motivation for working at the dormitory was economic, i.e., better paying job. Three persons selected employment at the Flagstaff dorm because it was close to their home. One person's family had always been in government service, and one person had been transferred to the

dorm from another position. One person gave working with "my own people" as the reason for working at the dorm and one person said she enjoyed working with children as the main motivation for selecting a position at the dorm.

Both guidance counselors at the dormitory were Indian. Both had professional training and experience as counselors. These counselors were no longer involved in the management of the dormitory. Their major duties included visiting the classroom teachers whenever a student was having difficulty in school, conferring with high school counselors, and the recording of student grades. They did not perform any testing as test results are all available through the schools. The boy's counselor felt that his major role as well as the role of the dormitory program was to encourage the students to accept school and pursue their education; to be polite and respectful at school. The girl's counselor was vague as to her specific role, but felt that the role of the dormitory program reflected the general BIA policy of making all Indians over to the image of the white man.

The boy's counselor was the only member of the dormitory staff who had spent much time visiting the classrooms. Although the dormitory has no formal program to visit the schools, each staff member is free to visit the classrooms on his own. Only one other staff member besides the boy's counselor had visited any classrooms. The boy's counselor felt that the students were receiving as good an education as they could receive anywhere, recognizing of course that there were always some good teachers and some poor teachers in any system. He said that many teachers preferred the Indian students as they were more attentive and polite. He felt that

the Indian students tended to be too shy, that they held themselves back too much out of fear of being ridiculed by the other students.

Teachers and administrators were invited on occasion to visit the dormitory at dinnertime to eat with the students. They were also taken on a tour of the dormitory. Until these visits started, many teachers felt that the dormitory program was a federal program and that they shouldn't intrude. Some of the teachers also served as tutors for the study halls at the dormitory, assisting those students who were having difficulty with specific subjects. With the exception of the latter, the major means of contact between the dormitory and school personnel were the formal occasions. Several members of the dormitory staff felt that many people in town had no idea where the dormitory was located nor its purpose.

The supervisors of the instructor aides provided some counseling especially in terms of discipline problems in addition to their major duties of managing the dormitory. The latter included the maintaining of duty schedules for the rest of the staff, the distribution of the mail, and financial accounting. One of the supervisors felt that his major role was to encourage the children to become vitally interested in something. The other supervisor felt that her role was primarily that of learning the needs of the students. Both felt that the major role of the dormitory was to help the students learn how to take care of themselves just as they would at home. This included washing and ironing clothes, personal grooming and hygiene, making their beds, etc. Both felt that this aspect of a child's education was equally as important as what they learned at school. The girl's counselor felt that the training the girls received in the dormitory qualified them to do domestic service on the weekends.

The night attendents were available to help children who might become ill, to watch for intruders, and to help wash the clothes of the younger children. In the girl's dorm if a girl was not quiet after "lights out" she received an extra hour of study time. There is some evidence that there is little communication between the night and the day staff. Some of the children resented those members of the dormitory staff who were not Navajo Indians, especially some of the Hopi staff members.

The work details included working in the kitchen and dining room. The dining room staff felt that part of their responsibilities included the instruction of the children in the use of good table manners.

The dormitory staff reported that there was very little conflict between the dormitory program and the school program. About the only time that there was any conflict was when the dormitory and the schools scheduled activities on the same date. There apparently needed to be more communication in this respect.

One of the dormitory staff felt that there was a great need for a library to be built between the two dormitories. He felt that in the winter it was too cold and too far to walk to the public library. Sometimes the dormitory provided transportation to the public library. There was no room available for arts and crafts work, though some of the staff were capable of teaching these skills.

A number of the dormitory staff members felt a sense of pride in their work, stating that the students who have been to other dormitories liked the Flagstaff dorm better than any that they'd been in.

Nearly all of the dormitory staff felt that it was important for the students to learn as much as possible about their cultural heritage, their

tribal government, and reservation economics.[47] Some felt that it was difficult for the school to promote such a program and that the dormitory might be the proper place to provide this information. Some of the instructional staff felt this should be done at home, yet stated that the dormitory in a sense was a home away from home. The dormitory had an Indian club which put on dances and a student council which had invited speakers on important reservation issues.[48] Some of the students had expressed a desire to learn more about "Indian Politics." The staff's attitude toward speaking Navajo, on the other hand, was ambivalent. Some encouraged the students to speak Navajo, while others discouraged them. One of the staff who was Navajo refused to teach his children Navajo. They later blamed their parents for neglecting this aspect of their education. One of his sons who had graduated from college had to study Navajo on his own. This staff member now feels that the children are better off if they can speak both languages. In 1964 the dormitory policy was altered so as not to prohibit the speaking of Navajo.

There appeared to be a variety of approaches to disciplining students. One counselor was interested to learn why the particular misbehavior occurred, whether the student was influenced to misbehave or whether it was his own idea. He felt that a lot of misbehavior was a result of daring or threatening. This appeared to be particularly true of instances of drinking and shoplifting. The counselor would oftentimes have the student write the situation out as a story and then talk with him (or her) about it. If the

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[47] One of the staff felt that the Navajo religion should be taught at home because many Navajos are now Christians.

[48] The sponsor of the Indian club indicated that there currently was a lack of interest in the club.

student had the wrong attitude, certain privileges such as trips to town were withdrawn. Among the girls, pregnancy or the fear of pregnancy appeared to be a serious problem. So far as the field team could discover, the girls were provided with no sex education nor any information about contraceptives.

For minor infractions of rules the students were given "extra training" which consisted of cleaning and ironing their clothes. This was work beyond the work details which the children performed in order to earn their board and room. One staff member remarked that some of the parents can't discipline their adolescent kids so they welcome the discipline performed at the dorm. A number of the staff had themselves attended boarding schools at a time when the discipline was much harsher than it is today, e.g., physical punishment such as whipping, and these same persons felt that the current mode of punishment was too lax. Some felt that the discipline in the boy's dorm had declined too far. As one staff member stated, "No one cares anymore."

In the girl's dormitory there was a problem of the girls stealing from one another as well as some of the older girls picking on the younger girls. On occasion a few of the girls would sneak off to public dances when they knew that their mothers didn't want them to go. Oftentimes the dormitory staff would be blamed for this when their mothers found out.

The dormitory staff was divided as to the basic philosophy of disciplining the children. One group felt that the staff was "too easy" on the students, that discipline needed to be more strict. The other group felt that harsh discipline was ineffective, that the children would react by becoming more belligerent. This latter group felt that the best approach was to have a personal talk with the students, and explain to them that what they were doing was wrong and why it was wrong.

Several of the dormitory staff regretted that some of the children, especially the older children, were not as respectful of their elders as they should be, nor were they appreciative of the federal government for the dormitory program and all that the government was trying to do for them.

Most of the staff recognized that the dormitory program removed the children from their family and home where they received love and affection. On the other hand many felt that the dormitory program compensated by providing a good place to live, recreation, television, and most important, access to speaking English; all conditions not available in the remote areas of the reservation. A few of the staff stated that the children were better off at home than in the dormitory even if their parents drank alot because the dormitory could never be a substitute for parental love. A few felt that sometimes the home conditions and some aspects of reservation life (including the Navajo religion) might actually be harmful to the children. Although a large number of the staff recognized that the major loss to the child in his not living at home was the loss of the love and affection of his family, few members of the staff, especially among the male staff, were making any effort to provide an affectionate atmosphere within the dormitory.

All of the staff felt that parental visits should not only be welcomed but encouraged. The children were usually very happy to see their parents and arrangements could be made for the children to accompany their parents on shopping trips or home for the weekend. Parents were invited to come into the dormitory and were served coffee and cookies. Sometimes the parents and children just sat in their cars and talked; they often brought gifts of candy and money to the children. Occasionally inebriated relatives came to

the dormitory seeking their children, and many of the children refused to accompany them or would hide from them.

Those parents who lived at a great distance from Flagstaff in the more remote regions of the reservation rarely, if ever, visited their children. A number of children were being raised by grandparents or other relatives who seldom came to the dormitory. One counselor reported that the children seemed happier if their parents visited occasionally and that there appeared to be a higher incidence of drinking and/or shoplifting among those boys whose parents never visited them. When school vacation times arrived, sometimes thirty or forty youngsters would refuse to go home; they could register and live at the dormitory, if they wished.

Several of the staff members stated that even though the parents had a lot of confidence in what the dormitory program was doing for their children, they wished that the parents could spend more time with the staff talking about their children.

When asked about the future of the dormitory several staff members suggested that the dormitory program will have to continue for some time as there aren't enough roads to provide transportation to school in many areas of the reservation and that there are still a large number of children who aren't receiving any education. One of the staff suggested that one of the best features of going to school in Flagstaff was the opportunity to mix with other "nationalities," to learn from them and to have the other "nationalities" learn about Navajos too.

There appeared to be no general consensus on the part of the dormitory staff as to the purpose of the Bordertown Dormitory Program and their particular role within that program. As might be expected, those members of the staff who were more directly concerned with the academic program in

the schools, counselors, tutors, etc., were more concerned with the educational progress of the students. Other members of the staff were more concerned with the development of "proper" personal habits and individual personality. Of particular concern here were habits associated with good manners, hygiene, and personal grooming.

The chief administrative officer of the dormitory had been trained as a counselor. As a consequence he considered his job as primarily that of a counselor rather than an administrator. In this role he perceived his task as primarily that of facilitator of acculturation. He would like to see the Bordertown Dormitory Program at Flagstaff be restricted to the brighter students who wish to go on to college and who wish to live in the cities or the urban centers bordering the reservation, in short, a college prep dormitory.

One of the major tasks of the dormitory, now that an increasing number of the students are at the secondary school level, is to encourage the students to participate in the extra-curricular activity program at their schools. The dormitory principal felt that the dormitory activity program should be secondary or supplementary to the school activity program. A few of the dormitory students were participating; one, for example, was vice-president of the student council at Flagstaff High School, but the total number of students participating was still very limited. Whereas the dormitory had its own yearbook, none of these students were on the yearbook staff at their high school. Some of the students participated in the activities of the Indian club at the University. (The Indian club reciprocated by providing speakers at the dormitory.) The principal was not in favor of the dormitory students attending public dances because they were not

chaperoned and because the Navajos who came in from the reservation to attend them oftentimes created a drinking problem.

Another major problem which the principal felt was important in working with the dormitory students was that of communication. As far as the dormitory itself was concerned he felt that there was need for a greater number of personnel, the "up-grading" of the present staff,[49] and more facilities, especially counseling rooms, hobby rooms, a study hall and a library. He also felt that a recreation director should be added to the staff. In the public schools he felt that more vocational education was needed as well as a program for handicapped children.

The principal of the dormitory was also concerned that the Navajo tribal officials were no longer in favor of the Bordertown Dormitory Program because they felt that the public schools were not interested in the Indian students. He stated that this certainly was not true in the Flagstaff public schools.

VIII

The Reaction of School Personnel to the Navajo Students

In order to ascertain the reaction of the school personnel to the inclusion of Navajo dormitory students in the school programs, two school board members, ten administrators, 54 teachers, and 21 Anglo students were interviewed (1963). From these interviews and from the classroom observations of the teachers, a subjective evaluation of the school personnel was

[49]An in-service program was available at Ft. Lewis College in Colorado but this was too far away for many of the staff to attend. The principal defined "up-grading" not so much in terms of college degrees but more in terms of the attitude toward the students and the program.

made. The teachers and administrators employed in the Flagstaff school system represented a cross section of school personnel which might be found anywhere in the United States. A few of the teachers were sarcastic and mean, a few had weak or no control in their classrooms, a few were unimaginative and boring, some were lazy while more were industrious. Others were kind, sympathetic, imaginative, and sincerely interested in their students. Several teachers and administrators refused to recognize the cultural background of Navajo students, stating that all students (including all minorities) were alike, while other teachers and administrators were well aware of cultural differences among the students and were earnestly seeking ways of learning more of their cultural background and the effect of their culture on their classroom behavior.

A few of the teachers had created a number of interesting myths to explain the behavior of their students, while others were more scientific in their explanation of student behavior. One such myth suggested that the age of the first menses of Indian girls and the "dark races" was associated with the proximity of the origin of the race to the equator. The closer to the equator, the earlier the first menses. Some of the teachers were oblivious to the background of the dormitory students (one teacher asked her children how many of them had pets at home to which the dormitory students who had no pets at the dorm could not respond), while others were consistently aware of the dormitory children's daily life in their teaching. With such a wide spectrum of cultural awareness and teaching abilities, it was difficult to expect much consensus in the reaction of the school personnel to the dormitory children. Quantification of their responses, therefore, is restricted to such adjectives as most, few, or one.

There was no orientation provided for the teachers before or after the arrival of the dormitory students. In justification of this procedure, the administrators suggested that the system already had minority students, many of whom were Indian, prior to the arrival of the dormitory students and therefore no special orientation was needed. The basic assumption was that the dormitory students would be no different from the Indian children from the Flagstaff area. One administrator, however, recognized that this was not true as he felt that the urban Indian students were better students than the dormitory students because of "selective migration." One of the administrators mentioned that the BIA had sponsored some Saturday workshops at the dormitory, but no one including the dormitory principal said much about their content nor mentioned who attended them.

A few of the teachers had tried to prepare themselves through reading about Indians. The content of the reading varied from "Sunday magazines" to the technical works of anthropologists such as Kluckhohn and others on Navajo culture and language. Fifteen percent of the teachers had pursued courses at the University dealing with Navajo culture or the teaching of Indian children. A number of the teachers, however, who had taken these courses could not remember much about their content nor what books they had read for the course. One teacher stated that she had not enrolled in the course since it would not be accepted as a part of her degree program. A number of the teachers concluded that they were qualified to teach Indian children because they had lived around Indians all their life or they had visited the reservation. One administrator suggested that it was not the policy of the district to conduct in-service programs since the University

had always been cooperative in offering whatever coursework the district requested.

Although a number of the teachers stated that they treated the dormitory students just the same as any other student, an equal number stated that they made some compensations in their classroom procedures after the dormitory students had arrived. These compensations included the collection of reading materials and Museum materials on the Navajo and other Indian tribes or the creation of special reading groups to help the students speak out better.

As has been previously mentioned (page 27), the original agreement between the BIA and the school district stipulated that there would be no major alterations in the school curriculum as compensation for the inclusion of the dormitory students in the system. The regular curriculum does have "Indian units" at the first, second, and fourth grade levels. In addition, topics dealing with American Indians are included in Arizona History and United States History courses. Both the administrators and teachers at the secondary school level recognized the need to add more vocational courses, distributive education courses, and a work-study program to the existing curriculum. A sequence in art courses had been attempted but proved impractical as the students were unable to include them in their programs.

Recognizing that there were individual exceptions, the teachers, Anglo students, and administrators suggested the following characteristics of the dormitory students as a group: They tended to be timid, shy, and withdrawn as compared to other students. Several teachers noticed that the new students were not as shy as the students had been when the dormitory program first started. Some of the teachers commented on the lack of

facial expressions which often provide clues to Anglo feelings while they are communicating. Oftentimes the Indian students would not answer direct questions nor participate in class discussions. A few teachers felt that these qualities affected the capability of teachers to evaluate student progress and perhaps influenced their grades. Other difficulties in the communication process included speaking in a low voice, and not requesting clarification of words they didn't know or instructions they didn't understand.

Many teachers suggested that for the most part the dormitory students were good students. They mentioned industriousness, perseverance, and respect for the teachers as the qualities which contributed to their being good students. Additionally, the dormitory students were not behavior problems. This does not mean to imply that there are no behavior problems.

A few teachers preferred the dormitory students to their other students. Other special qualities mentioned by the teachers included an aptitude in art and crafts where they could work with their hands. At the elementary level the development of a beautiful handwriting script by both girls and boys was mentioned. On the playground the younger children appeared to be very creative in devising and playing games.

Teacher comments on the use of the English language among the dormitory students suggested that many of the Navajo use very little slang and speak more correct English than do many Anglo students. Difficulties which the dormitory students encountered in using English included the reluctance to speak out in oral reading, the problem with pronouncing some words especially those which contain sounds non-existent in the Navajo language, some problems with verb tenses resulting in the overuse of the present tense, and occasionally mixing up the sentence structure.

Only one teacher stated that the students possessed a weak vocabulary although another teacher described how she always watched their faces for expressions of puzzlement whenever she used new words.[50] One administrator described how one Indian student graduated with honors with only a 100-word vocabulary.

Nearly all the school personnel and the non-Indian students stated that with some notable exceptions the Indian dormitory students tended to stick together. There was very little friction among themselves. The tendency to stick together was situational, that is, more so in class than on the playground. The girls stick together more than the boys probably because they can not share or talk about common experiences with the non-Indian girls. On the playground the Indian boys will occasionally keep the ball to themselves. At the secondary level the Indian students walk around together in pairs and threes.

There apparently was no antipathy toward the Mexican-American students. A number of cases of cross-minority friendship patterns were described. Hostility toward other Indian tribes, e.g., Hopi and Havasupai was described by one teacher. Hostility toward Negro children was particularly noted by teachers in those schools enrolling this minority. Many teachers felt that the hostility was initiated by the Negro students themselves who oftentimes were very aggressive and would on occasion tease the Indian children by calling them "dumb Indians." At first the Indian students tolerated the aggressiveness of the Negro youngsters but as they became more secure in the school situation they began fighting back. The fights between boys at the Junior

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[50]If the Indian facial expressions are as stoic as previously suggested, this technique would hardly work.

High level were on an individual basis with Indian friends watching and providing encouragement.

Apparently there was no great impact on the school system when the dormitory children began attending the public schools. A number of teachers and non-Indian students suggested that the major reason for the easy assimilation of the dormitory children into the school system was the fact that the system already had a large number of Indian students. Some of the Anglo students stated that they weren't even aware of the dormitory students for some time after they started attending their school.[51]

Major changes in behavior of the dormitory students since they first started attending the public schools were grouped around their shift from being quiet and timid to being more outgoing, more aggressive, happier and better adjusted. Accompanying their better adjustment was an improvement in grades, an improvement in their general appearance, and an increase in "horsing around" and minor misbehavior.

Many of the teachers stated that they enjoyed working with the dormitory students. A few of the elementary school teachers felt that the children shouldn't be taken away from their homes when they were so young. In 1963 the dormitory principal did not feel that the dormitory program was a traumatic experience for the younger children as they looked forward to it. He stated that it had become a tradition for the younger children to follow the older children. One school administrator indicated that the children should start attending the school earlier

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[51]The ratio of approximately 300 dormitory Indians to a student population of approximately 6,000 students some of whom were Indian was evidently small enough to have little effect on the school system.

than seventh grade as they would miss out on many valuable experiences necessary for success at the secondary school level.[52]

Some of the special characteristics of dormitory students indicated by individual teachers included the following:

"Most of them have good manners. They say thank you, etc."

"They would do better in school if they didn't have so many problems with living at the dorm."

"Leave them alone. Don't make them middle-class."

"Children who attend the same school from one year to another fit in better."

"Their grades are affected by not speaking out, especially in the larger classes."

"They don't like to raise their hands."

"Why bother to educate them anyway, they just return to the reservation."

"They are very humble when you punish them."

"They have no knowledge of the value of science."

"They often make mistakes they wouldn't make if they would only ask."

"Some of them are just like animals."

"They don't receive enough help in the dorm. One boy came to school without any shoelaces."

"The Navajo boys are often picked first for the teams."

"We need to get out into their homes."

"They are not sure of whether they are Navajo or Anglo."

"Most of the children shake hands with a fish-like handshake."

"They don't understand the meaning of words."

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[52]There was no consensus among the professional staff as to the proper grade in which to initiate the dormitory program. This constitutes a "minor issue" among them.

"It's cruel to cut the young girls' hair."

"They do better at South Beaver because the competition is not so great."

"The fewer the Navajos in the room, the more they participate."

"They used to draw pictures of the reservation, now they draw pictures of war tanks and airplanes."

"They are beginning to steal."

"In math they have more trouble with abstractions--this is similar to Anglos but more so."

"The boys resent women teachers."

"They have picked up some boarding school behavior; grab what you can."

"You can't discipline an Indian kid the same as an Anglo. He will withdraw."

"One boy stole a candy bar from my desk."

"This town is not as prejudiced as others I have been in."

"Their behavior may be more rural than cultural."

A counselor stated that the dormitory students usually have to be invited into her office, few come voluntarily. When they do come in she usually had to wait until they would bring up what was on their mind. She also noted that there was a great amount of hostility toward the BIA and toward missionaries. She also stated that vocational counseling was extremely difficult since their concept of the world of work is so limited.

The dormitory students participate in extra class activities if these activities are scheduled during the school hours. These include hobbies and crafts (some of which overlap with the dormitory program), intramural sports, and choir. None of the dormitory students was participating in the band at the elementary school level because there was no

money for their instruments. This problem seems to have been resolved at the high school as a number of dorm students were in the high school band. None of the dorm students were involved in after-school sports in the junior high and high school because they lacked birth certificates.[53] The administrators felt that the dormitory personnel had been negligent in not providing these to the school officials. Another factor which may be inhibiting participation in after-school sports is the problem of serving a late meal to the athletes. There was no art club in either junior or senior high school.

Although the dormitory principal states that there was some visiting of Anglo homes by the dormitory students especially to the homes of their classmates in school, the non-Indian students reported that very little of this was going on. The dorm principal stated that the students looked forward to this as oftentimes they would be taken to interesting places. The non-Indian students and a few of the teachers did indicate that a number of teachers had taken dormitory children to their homes, especially those who needed help with their work. A school board member also remarked on the large number of dormitory students who accompany Flagstaff children to their homes.

Much of the commentary by the school administrators echoed that of the teachers. Special problems of the dormitory students which the administrators mentioned included the need for closer communication with the dormitory. Some of the students would get in trouble at the dormitory and would be lost to the school district. The administrators felt that on

[53]In 1968 this problem seems to have been resolved as dormitory students were participating on some of the high school teams.

occasion they might have been able to help in keeping the student in school. Some of the dormitory students ran away for a period. Sometimes they would go up into the hills to get away from all the regulations at the dorm and at school. Other times some of the students got homesick and arrived back at school late from their vacations.

School offices were provided for the parents to visit with their children when they came to town. If a parent wanted to go shopping with his child the principal excused him from class for this purpose. Sometimes this became necessary as the tribal clothing funds didn't last throughout the year. The Navajo children were becoming proud of their Navajo heritage so that their parents who often wore traditional clothes to town no longer embarrassed them.

Some of the Navajo parents in town have moved back to the reservation so that their children could take advantage of the dormitory program. The young Navajo parents who live in Flagstaff participated in PTA and other school sponsored activities. They provided a salient example for the other Indian families and children in the school system, as they wanted the best education they could provide for their children and provided considerable motivation and encouragement at home.

The non-Indian students indicated that there was no reaction to the dormitory students when they first began to attend the Flagstaff schools. They described the dorm students as good students, but who had a tendency to play among themselves during recess periods. One Anglo group of students described the situation thusly, "They play mostly with each other or all of them against us." Another group suggested that the dormitory students felt inferior "like everyone was against them." At the Awards Ceremony all the Navajo dormitory children get are attendance awards, nothing else.

In explaining why so few of the Indian students demonstrate leadership, one Anglo group said that they don't run for office because they don't feel they have a chance. Another group said it was difficult for the dormitory students to become leaders because "we all have our friends and they are very shy." Most of the non-Indian students felt that the Indians were not resented by the other students. One group suggested a few might resent the Indian students' presence in the classroom, but that they would never admit it. The high school students were accepted like they "were any student coming from another state." Only rarely were the Indian students told they "don't belong here."

None of the non-Indian students had ever asked a dormitory student to go home with him, although one admitted to visiting the dorm to ask a friend to play with him. (He did.) One group of Anglo students was under the impression that the Indian students weren't permitted to visit the homes of their non-Indian friends.

All of the non-Indian students felt that it was better for the dormitory students to go to school in Flagstaff rather than on the reservation. Opinion was divided, however, as to the reasons for this sentiment. Some students felt that they were "not given a fair chance in reservation schools" while others felt that "they would do better in the reservation schools." The salient advantage to going to school in Flagstaff was the chance to learn what "our life is like" or "not to dislike our race."

All the Anglo students felt that the dormitory students were easy to get along with and were not trouble-makers. Those that mentioned fighting among the boys stated that "they are still braves...they don't like to fight but don't turn away from it." One Anglo group at the elementary

level claimed that the Indian students teased them about their nice clothes. Another group noted that they "dress differently."

There apparently was no consensus among the administrators as to the particular qualities which make a teacher more effective with the Indian children. Those qualities which were mentioned varied from teachers who were raised in the area and those who had some knowledge of the cultural background of the children, to a person who was quieter and less autocratic in the classroom. One administrator felt that if the teacher was too "hard" on the Indian children she would get no response from them. There were no Navajo teachers employed in the school system. This was due to the fact that there were so few qualified Navajo teachers who wanted to live in Flagstaff, rather than due to a policy of not hiring minority group teachers. Two Navajo teachers had been hired but resigned prior to the beginning of the school year (1963).

Although the cooperation between the dormitory and the school district is cordial, there is very little articulation between the dormitory educational program and the school program. Much more exploration needs to be made between the dorm and the school district such as the use of some of the school facilities especially the library by the dormitory students during the after-school hours.

From all reports, the community, the BIA personnel, the school personnel, the school board, and the students are all pleased and proud of the dormitory program. Most felt that the dormitory students were an asset to the student body.

In 1968 four administrators were re-interviewed to determine what changes might have taken place since 1963 as further accommodation on the part of the public schools toward the Indian dormitory students. Although

no formal policy had yet been devised there was a consensus among the administrators as to their philosophy toward educating the dormitory youth. Undoubtedly their attitudes toward the Indian students had been influenced by the increasing attention given in the professional literature and the public press to the problems of educating minority children.

None of the administrators felt that it was the purpose of the school to destroy their cultural heritage, rather they felt that every chance possible should be provided for further study of their history and current social problems. At one high school, Indian history was included in the social studies program. The administrator at this high school also suggested the creation of an Indian Day during the year when special attention would be drawn to Arizona Indians and the Indian students would be encouraged to wear their native dress, etc. This does not indicate, however, that the schools should promote separatism. All the administrators persisted in their attitude that the goal of education was assimilation.

To accomplish this task, the schools were encouraging the students to participate as much as possible in the extracurricular program of the schools. They felt that one of the major obstacles to their participation was that of transportation. They also felt that one of the major skills which the schools could provide for the student was the ability to use and to think in the English language.

Since 1963 the junior high and high schools had increased the number of counselors available to the Indian students. They had continued and expanded a special reading program. Although the administration had as yet been unsuccessful in developing a technical high school in the Flagstaff area, they had expanded the vocational program. Courses in

bookkeeping, nurses aides, auto mechanics, and electronics were now available. One administrator felt that the dormitory students needed a large number of electives in order to broaden their background. One of the deterrents to developing new programs has been the lack of financial support at state level.

All the administrators cited the problem of absenteeism before and after vacation periods as a continuing problem. They also indicated that many of the Indian students were poorly prepared for the Flagstaff system when they arrived. They suggested that the students should be better screened prior to their being assigned to Flagstaff and that this screening should guarantee that only those students who wanted to come to Flagstaff should be selected. Other problems mentioned included the difficulty of providing a program of continuity since so many dormitory students transfer in and out of the dormitory and the problem of student drinking. The latter is associated with the usual teen-ager behavior which occurred outside of school but affected the school performance of the child.

Again as in 1963 the administrators welcomed the dormitory students into the school system and they were making a conscious effort to compensate for any shortcomings which the students possessed.

IX

The Reaction of Navajo Parents to Sending Their Children to the Dormitory

During the summer of 1963 26 Navajo children were visited in their homes on the reservation in order to learn from their parents and/or relatives the general sentiment prevailing toward sending their children

to the dormitory in Flagstaff. Two high school age boys from the dormitory served as interpreters.[54] The families visited were located primarily in the western and northern sections of the reservation. A few families were living in urban centers such as Tuba City, but the majority were located in the remote areas.

Fifteen of the families were living in traditional Navajo hogans, two were living in summer ramadas, one in a summer camp tent, seven in frame structures covered with building paper, and one family lived in a modern concrete block home (on BIA property). The remoteness of many of the families to schools, roads, and other governmental agencies necessitated their children attending boarding schools. One parent indicated that she had many children scattered in various boarding schools.

If the parents have a choice as to what boarding school their children attend, on-reservation, off-reservation, within state, out of state, etc., what then was their reaction to sending their child to the Flagstaff Bordertown Dormitory? The most frequently stated reason for preferring that their child go to school in Flagstaff was that the parents felt that the public schools in Flagstaff were better than the BIA schools. Another reason which was mentioned several times was "convenience." Unfortunately, the interviewer did not probe into the precise definition of this word more thoroughly. By "convenience" does the Navajo parent mean that he visits and is familiar with the city of Flagstaff and in this sense it is convenient to have his child at the Flagstaff dorm? Or does the word "convenient" have an economic basis? That is, by sending his children off to the dormitory during the winter where they are fed, clothed

[54]Calvin Begay from Indian Wells and Robert Edwards from Kayenta.

and housed during what may be a difficult part of the year, the Navajo parents' very limited economic resources receive some relief. It is suggested that the latter definition or economic definition is more valid as many Indian parents who are living at or below what the Anglo defines as a "poverty level" view the education of their children more in economic or pragmatic terms than in abstract or aesthetic terms.

Only one parent was concerned with the possibility that by living in Flagstaff for an extended period his child might wish to live off the reservation in his adult life. In traditional Navajo fashion, the parents stated that such a decision was entirely up to the child. Only one child complained to her parents about a return to reservation life. She said she couldn't sleep at night because it was too hot.

When the parent was asked what kind of changes had he seen in the behavior of his child since the child had been living at the dormitory, many responded that the child was much better behaved.[55] Other changes noted were the ability to read and write letters, the practicing and teaching of English to the younger brothers and sisters. Of particular pride to those parents who could not speak English was the fact that their child could now serve as an interpreter at the local Trading Post.

A number of the children had complained to their parents about the "many restrictions" which the dormitory placed on them. Other complaints included "the boys drinking," the Negro boys who were too aggressive, and the stealing of clothing in the dormitory. Several of the older boys

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[55]In an informal discussion with two Falgstaff dormitory students during the 1969 visit, they reported that those Navajo teenagers who attend the bordertown dormitories are better behaved and do less drinking during the summer than do those who attend on-reservation schools.

(junior and senior high school) complained to the interviewer that there was no wage work available to them on the reservation in the summer. A few of these wished that there would be some type of trade school which they could attend in the summer months.[56]

In general the parents were pleased that their child was a student at the Flagstaff dormitory. Nearly all of them wished that they could have an opportunity to talk with school and dormitory officials about their child's progress and the dormitory program in general, but none of them could suggest the means by which this could take place.

X

Summary and Conclusions

The Navajo Indians, with the exception of a few who chose to live part or all their lives away from their reservation, at first resisted most efforts to change them. Gradually there developed what might be called "selective integration," that is, the Navajos acquired only those features of the Anglo-American culture which they (the Navajo) felt enhanced their day to day existence and rejected those features which they felt had no practical use, maintaining at the same time much of the traditional Navajo culture. At first, formal education was one of the features of American society which the Navajo rejected, but following World War II, during which many Navajo youth served in the Armed Forces, the acquisition of a formal education became one of the features of the American society desired by many Navajo veterans for their children. Other factors which increased

[56]The interviewer vividly recalls the sight of a Navajo boy sitting on a bed in his mother's hogan resentful of the "forced" idleness of the summer.

the demand for formal education were the discovery and development of natural resources such as coal, oil, and lumber on the reservation, a rapid increase in the number of Navajo youths and the emergence of a wage economy in tribal and federal enterprises.[57] By 1950 the demand for an education far exceeded the number of classrooms available to Navajo children. This was particularly true in the more remote regions of the reservation.

One short-term solution to the shortage of classrooms was the creation in 1953 of the Bordertown Dormitory Program wherein dormitories for Navajo children were to be built in towns bordering the reservation and the children enrolled in the local public schools. Federal funds were to be used to build the dormitories and federal monies were provided to the school districts for the expenses of educating the children. Secondary to the classroom shortage was the philosophy that the bordertown dormitory would afford the Navajo children the opportunity to become fluent in the English language and to become familiar with Anglo-American customs and thought. Coincident with the emergence of the Bordertown Dormitory Program was the gradual desegregation of the public schools in the towns bordering the reservation. The coalescence of these two efforts in education resulted in the construction of the bordertown dormitory in Flagstaff, Arizona, a city of 27,000 inhabitants and a popular recreation and commercial center for the Navajos from the western region of the reservation.

A dormitory with a capacity for 300 students was built on the edge of Flagstaff City Park and the children registered in the eight public schools serving Flagstaff children. Ideally, the dormitory students were

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[57]Task Force on Indian Affairs, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

to be allocated to each of the schools so as to place no more than five dormitory children in any one classroom. In actual practice, however, the children were placed in schools on a space available basis which allocated a disproportionate number (1/3 of the dormitory population and 1/2 of the elementary school age population) at one school. At the beginning of the program, the children were evenly divided between the early grades and the upper grades, but in more recent years there has been a gradual reduction of the number of children in the lower elementary school age with a corresponding increase of students at the secondary school level.

The educational program of the Flagstaff city schools constituted an academic, college-preparatory emphasis rather typical of most towns its size in the United States. From the inception of the program, it was the policy of the school district and the desire of the BIA to make no accommodations in the educational program in order to compensate for any deficiencies which the dormitory students might possess, as it was their impression that the students should be exposed to a standard public school curriculum. Any adaptations or compensations which were made for the dormitory students were dependent upon the interests and capabilities of individual teachers.

The adjustment of the Navajo dormitory students as a group to the public schools appeared to be quite satisfactory. In 1963 nearly three-fourths of the students were performing at grade level or above on achievement tests and school grades. Since 1963 there has been some evidence that a number of the students have performed at honors level. This was particularly true of those who formed a cadre of students returning to the Flagstaff school system in successive years.

In addition to performing well in school in the face of much disparity between reservation environment and the urban environment represented by the school, the Navajo students by their own admission and supported by observations of dormitory and school personnel, were becoming increasingly fluent and at ease in using the English language. This was accomplished in spite of the many differences between the Navajo and English languages and the complete absence of any formal systematic program of teaching English as a second language to compensate for these differences.

There was considerable evidence that while both the Navajo students and their parents valued a formal education, their reasons for valuing a formal education differed from those of most middle-class Anglos. Whereas many Anglos see an intrinsic value in formal education, the Navajos persist in maintaining a very pragmatic view of education. Parents, oftentimes, perceived the dormitory in Flagstaff as a place where their children would acquire a fluency in the English language, and also by receiving room and board afford relief to the economic conditions of the family. Some parents felt that their children could receive a better education in a public school than in a BIA school. Both parents and students perceived the acquisition of an education as a prerequisite for entrance into the wage economy and/or higher education, yet the knowledge of specific Anglo vocations, their requirements, and their social roles was very limited, due in part to the lack of adult models among the parents. Particularly lacking in the vocational choices were the middle management vocations so much in current demand on the reservation.

It was noted that the Navajo students tended to cluster together on the school grounds. This behavior, however, is rather typical of most minority children and also can be considered a natural clustering if

considered in the context of neighborhood friendship patterns. The "neighborhood" for the Navajo students was the dormitory campus. It was there that friendship patterns had formed and it was the persistence of these friendship patterns on the school grounds that formed the basis of the clustering. Furthermore, there was little mingling of Navajo children with Flagstaff children out of school to create cross-cultural bonds. This was particularly evident among the older children who were at an age when friendship patterns should begin to transcend neighborhood boundaries.

The sociometric analysis confirmed the close ties of friendship among the dormitory children, but they also indicated much cross-cultural admiration. The Navajo children were admired by and admired non-Indian children frequently. Admiration patterns of Indian students were closely correlated (positively) with the number of Indian students in the classroom, the degree of scholarship they exhibited, and the permissive nature of the classroom.

One of the major criticisms made by the 1965 federal survey of the entire Bordertown Dormitory Program was the lack of class and extra class participation on the part of the dormitory students.[58] This criticism would be valid in Flagstaff. On closer examination, however, there appeared to be a number of extraneous factors which were influencing class and extra class participation. First, an increase in the amount of classroom participation seemed to be highly correlated with an increase in the number of Navajo students in the classroom, and/or a permissive classroom atmosphere, and/or the length of time which the student had been attending school in Flagstaff. Of the multiple factors, the classroom atmosphere would appear

[58]Report of the Senate Appropriations Committee..., *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

to be the most important in encouraging class participation.[59] Second, the dormitory students wanted to participate in many extra class activities of their school but felt that the structure of the organization of the dormitory and the lack of funds precluded their participation. Even though the dormitory had developed an inter-dormitory athletic program and its own social program, many of the students would have preferred to spend more of their time at school rather than in the dormitory.

The small amount of leadership exhibited by the Navajo students was due to two factors. First, there was very little extra class participation which afforded an opportunity to develop leadership. Second, there was a persistence of a Navajo cultural trait which discourages an Anglo style of leadership.

With the exception of a few of the more articulate secondary school students most of the dormitory students were very vague as to what they got out of school except for the learning of English. This paralleled a similar conclusion of research conducted two decades earlier.[60] In both instances, the Navajo child valued going to school, but at the same time had no basis upon which to judge or react to what was occurring to him in school. Going to school was a condition to be tolerated rather than a situation which possessed any real significance in his life. This reaction to school would be a natural corollary of his pragmatic approach (also selective integration) wherein English was the skill of value to him.

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[59]See Gwilliam, Robert F., *The Relationship of Social Acceptance of a Navajo Minority and Teacher Attitudes on the Dominative-Supportive Dimension*, 1957, unpublished Master of Science thesis, Department of Education Administration, Brigham Young University.

[60]See Leighton and Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Student reaction to living at the dormitory was highly varied. There were those students who accepted and in fact felt "comfortable" with the routine and regulations of the dormitory. There were those who resented the restrictions of the dormitory life and rebelled against them either overtly or by means of a form of "gamesmanship" in which they would try to break as many rules as possible without getting caught. Rebellion against the dormitory regulations increased with the older children in the form of rather typical "teen-age" rebellion. In spite of a considerable amount of griping about the dormitory, most of the students felt that going to school in Flagstaff was better than the other educational alternatives open to them. This preference was due primarily to the opportunity to go to school with children of "other nationalities." Many of the students, especially the older students, preferred living in the dormitory to living at home.

The dormitory facilities were not only very crowded but many auxiliary services which could contribute to the educational program were lacking such as a study hall-library complex, counseling and tutorial rooms, and work rooms for preparation of school projects and personal hobby crafts.

Among the dormitory personnel the major motivation for working at the dormitory was economic rather than humanitarian. As a consequence few of the staff were qualified or interested in counseling students. It appeared that the major focus of the dormitory staff was on the maintenance of the facilities and the students (keeping them clean, well groomed, etc.). Work details were paramount to guidance. Nevertheless, some of the dormitory staff, because of their particular personalities, related quite well with many students and conducted much *ex officio* counseling.

Apparently the dormitory staff had never conducted an analysis of the purposes of the Bordertown Dormitory Program, had never met with nor visited the public school personnel, nor met with students' parents in an attempt to develop a well-defined dormitory program which articulated with the public school program and which reduced the anxiety of the parents for the welfare of their children. To date the major concerns of the dormitory and publi school administrators have been associated with the details of schedule conflicts and student misbehavior.

As might be expected in any school system the size of Flagstaff, there was a considerable variation in attitudes toward and treatment of the dormitory students by individual teachers. Some were sympathetic, kind and aware of the cultural background of the Navajo students, while others were antagonistic, mean, and completely intolerant of Navajo culture.[61] The school district had not made any concerted effort to place the dormitory students with the former kind of teacher nor had it developed any kind of orientation program or booklet to guide the teachers in working with Navajo students. In defense of the school district it should be kept in mind that, at the time of the inception of the dormitory program in Flagstaff, it was the general sentiment of the BIA and the school board that the responsibility for adjustment to the school program should be that of the Indian child rather than the school district. Nevertheless, individual teachers had made some adjustment to their Indian students. For the most part this consisted of including materials from Indian and Navajo culture in their teaching. A few teachers were aware of the linguistic problems facing the Navajo students and were compensating for these.

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[61]Nearly all the students liked their teacher, but when they didn't like a teacher it was because she was mean. Conversely, the main reason for liking a teacher was because she was kind.

Individual administrators like individual teachers were making adjustments in the operation of their schools and the school program to the needs of the dormitory students. To be sure, their major concerns were in such areas as transportation and student behavior in the dormitory which affected school performance, yet they also expressed an interest in curricular programs which would be more effective with Indian students. Neither the teachers nor the administrators felt that the addition of the dormitory students to the student population had had any great impact on the school district. They suggested that the major reason for this was the fact that the Flagstaff schools already were educating large numbers of Indian children.

If rapid acculturation is a primary goal of the program, it might be wise to place the dormitory students in classes where there are few other Indian children so as to "force" friendship and admiration outside of their ethnic group. This appears to work best with an Indian child who is capable of school success being placed with a permissive teacher, preferably a young man. On the other hand, if school success and adjustment are the primary goals, the Navajo dormitory child should be placed in a classroom composed of minority students with whom he can compete easily and in a school where there are a lot of Navajo children. Yet while he continues to look to his own people for emotional ties and friendship, the Navajo admires and is admired by the children of other cultures with whom he comes in contact. One certainly cannot overlook the value to non-Indian children in being exposed to Indian children on a face-to-face basis, thus providing for the possibility of reducing stereotypes and prejudices about Indians. This, it would be hoped, might ultimately lead

to greater cross-cultural understanding and an increase in equal opportunity for Indian youth.[62]

Perhaps the major conclusion which can be formulated from this study of the Bordertown Dormitory Program in Flagstaff which may be applied to the education of any group of children is the indication of the necessity of formulating goals and purposes first and then organizing a program in a particular manner so as to best accomplish these aims. Viewed from this perspective, the Bordertown Dormitory Program in Flagstaff would appear to have been haphazardly formulated and organized to function with administrative ease rather than to accomplish specific tasks.

In spite of an inadequate goal orientation, the Flagstaff Dormitory Program had enjoyed much success as evidenced in student, parent, and teacher reactions to it. Although the acquisition of fluency in the use of the English language was probably the outstanding measurable success of the program, there undoubtedly was a considerable amount of incidental learning of middle-class Anglo skills in both the public school and dormitory environments; skills which would permit the Bordertown Dormitory student to operate adequately in the dominant culture.

XI

Recommendations

The Navajo say that the "white man" likes to give advice.[63] The following "advice" or recommendations, however, are intended not in the

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[62]A large number of educated Indian youth have discovered that equal educational opportunity does not necessarily lead to equal employment opportunity.

[63]From notes taken at the Sixth Annual Navajo Education Conference, Durango, Colorado, March 5-7, 1963.

manner of prescription, but rather in the anticipation that they will provide a basis for discussion and reexamination of the current Bordertown Dormitory Program in Flagstaff.

Paramount to the continuation of the program is the need to develop a well-defined policy statement as to the purposes of the program.[64] Such an educational policy should emerge from discussions which include interested teachers and administrators, dormitory personnel, Navajo students and parents, and members of the Flagstaff community. The discussions should focus on the notion of cultural pluralism and its role in creating a dynamic American society. Also included in the discussions should be an attempt to describe the role of an adult Navajo and the style of education which is necessary to fulfill the requirements of adulthood in Navajo-American society of today.

Once an educational policy has been determined then the professional staff of the schools and the dormitory staff should jointly develop a set of procedures which when followed will result in satisfying the requirements of the educational policy. This statement is made on the assumption that the Flagstaff school system recognizes its responsibility to all the children (all ethnic groups) which the district serves, not just the majority, and that it will meet this responsibility insofar as the economic resources of the district permit. The following specific recommendations are prepared as a guide:

1. The development of a counseling and guidance program in both the dormitory and the school on individual and group bases, which focuses on the purpose of formal education. In addition to providing pragmatic

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[64]See Conclusions of the Report to the Senate Appropriations Committee..., *op. cit.*, p. 24.

reasons for the acquisition of a formal education, there should be a consideration and appreciation for education as intrinsic to a "better life" and to the capabilities of the mind.

2. Courses in Navajo history, reservation politics and economics, and Navajo language should be provided as electives for all students. If the school district cannot provide such course work, the courses should be offered through an "extension service" at the dormitory under the administration of the school district.

3. Some attention should be given to the American Indian in American society in courses required of all students; i.e., social studies, American History, American Problems.

4. A program for teaching English as a Second Language should be offered.[65] English teachers and dormitory tutors should be provided with some orientation as to the difficulties which Navajo students encounter with the English language. If language laboratories are available, these should be used in this program.

5. There appears to be a conflict between the view of the school administrators who would like to have the Navajo children as students in the elementary school and the view of Navajo parents who would like to have their children near to home during their childhood.[66] Although this study was unable to provide a specific recommendation as to the best age at which to include the child in the program, it can recommend that a child

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[65]Note: Spanish speaking children may be included in such a program, but the teachers should be aware that Spanish creates a different set of problems than do Indian languages.

[66]Task Force on Indian Affairs, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

enter the program at a level no higher than Junior High School so as to provide a continuity of experiences within the Flagstaff school system.

6. Since there is some indication that those students who continued their education in the Flagstaff school system performed better, it is recommended that an effort should be made to retain the child in the system and assigning him to the same school and class (together with his siblings) for the duration of his school career. Normally a child and his siblings would attend the same elementary school all his school life. There needs to be a greater cooperation between the school counselors and the dormitory counselors in this respect. This cooperation should include a follow-up study of transfers and dropouts from the dormitory program.

7. There is a great need for a follow-up study of the graduates of the dormitory program as to their educational and vocational success and their reaction to the dormitory program. Such a study would be able to determine whether or not the limited vocational program which was available in the school curriculum, actually did inhibit the development of vocational skills of the graduates of the program.

8. There is also a great need for vocational counseling and guidance at an early age with multiple opportunities to visit and view job role enactment at all levels, but especially at the middle management level. Included in this type of counseling should be a knowledge of the rights of the employee.

9. Vocational training and a work study program should be made available to Navajo dormitory students during the summer months.

10. For those students who spend the summer on the reservation, a summer reading program with books being provided might be organized.

11. All counselors who have Indian students as clients should have some orientation to cross-cultural problems in counseling.

12. In a like manner, teachers who have a large number of Navajo students should be provided with some orientation to Navajo culture and to Navajo cultural behavior in the classroom. It is suggested that just reading about the Navajo or knowing a few Navajo families is insufficient orientation, that what is required is a systematic analysis of Navajo culture and student behavior. Lacking an orientation program a teacher should at least have an orientation booklet available to pursue his own study.

13. More attention should be given to the placement of the Indian students with permissive teachers and depending upon the qualities of individual students either in a classroom with few other Navajo students, or a classroom with a large number of Navajo students.

14. A greater effort needs to be made to increase cross-cultural friendships. One of the best vehicles to accomplish this would be participation in extra class activities. To this end, the dormitory program should be organized so as to increase this participation. Changes in the dormitory schedule need to be made. Monies should be provided by the BIA so that students can rent band instruments, purchase uniforms, birth certificates, and supplies necessary for participation in the program. Individual coaches, club sponsors, and band directors should seek out and encourage talented Indian students to participate in their programs. The BIA should employ a Recreation Director to assist the schools in encouraging participation in extra class activities, to resolve schedule conflicts, and to insure transportation to the school activities. Although the activity schedule at the dormitory undoubtedly serves a purpose, it is felt that participation in community and school activities would prove to be more profitable to individual students.

15. Teachers and administrators need to examine a variety of mechanisms to encourage leadership among the dormitory students. One such mechanism would be to appoint Indian representatives to various clubs and organizations, rather than to rely on elections.

16. Although the Flagstaff school district has had a history of appointing lay advisory committees to resolve districtwide problems, no attempt has been made to contact Indian organizations. The recent appointment of two local Navajos to an advisory capacity with the dormitory is a move in this direction. More needs to be accomplished in exploring means of involving Navajo parents and tribal leaders in the dormitory and school program.

17. The dormitory program's emphasis on maintenance should be altered to include more emphasis on guidance and counseling; both personal and educational. This would require greater cooperation between dormitory and school counselors. The activities of the dormitory should be organized with the goal of developing independence and self-discipline. Job descriptions and dormitory guidelines reflecting this policy should be developed and periodic conferences among the dormitory staff to insure conformity to the guidelines and the resolution of conflicts in the program should be conducted.

18. Educated Navajos, oftentimes, have a difficult time in adjusting the life style which they have learned in the boarding schools or in reservation schools to the life style which they lead on the reservation.[67] A Navajo girl, for example, may learn how to use a vacuum cleaner as a part

[67]For a description of the problems encountered by a returning boarding school graduate, see Reichard, Gladys G., *Dezba, Women of the Desert*, 1939, J.J. Augustin Publisher, New York, pp. 25 and 60-61.

of her work detail at the dormitory, but what does she do with this skill when she returns to her home in the Navajo mountain area of the reservation where there is no electricity? The dormitory guidance function, therefore, should not only be directed toward success in school and success in Anglo society, but also toward the means of adapting what is learned in Flagstaff to reservation life.

19. The hiring policy of the BIA dormitory should be in the direction of hiring staff members trained in cross-cultural counseling and who exhibit an interest in humanitarian pursuits. There should be a reduction in the number of dormitory attendants in favor of additional counselors. An in-service program should be conducted periodically for the existing staff.

20. In addition to the tutors, the high school students should be encouraged to assist one another with their homework. A cross-age tutoring program should also be organized.

21. The Navajo Youth Organization and/or the student council at the dormitory needs to receive more support and should become more active in the operation of the dormitory. The current program of inviting speakers to the dormitory should be expanded and students should be provided the opportunity to attend conferences and visit with Navajo adults on the reservation.

22. The physical facilities of the dormitory campus are very inadequate to support anything but a very limited program. The overcrowded conditions in living space should be relieved by building several cottage-style residences where the older students can learn to maintain themselves in a semiautonomous environment. Two apartments, one for girls and one for boys, should be rented in the central section of Flagstaff where groups

of students can learn the skills, e.g., cooking, cleaning, budgeting, etc., necessary to living in an urban environment. The Home Economics Departments in the high schools should supervise and evaluate this "learning experience." A library study hall complex should be built so as to permit the dormitory students the opportunity to read and study in a more conducive atmosphere. Included in this complex should be typewriting rooms, preparation rooms for school projects or personal hobby crafts, and a small seminar room for group guidance, special tutoring, and meetings. Additional counseling offices should be constructed perhaps in the administration building. A "visiting room" should be built in the administration building for students to receive parents and outside guests. All the buildings currently possess a very "institutional" appearance; they should be decorated with murals, pictures and fabrics which reflect the rich artistic heritage of the Navajo people. The dorm should attempt to be a "home away from home"; there should be current magazines available in the living quarters, as well as the Navajo Times, and local papers.

23. It is suggested that the Bordertown Dormitory Program in Flagstaff become a permanent part of any master plan for the education of Navajo children. It should remain as an alternative to other types of education available to Navajo youth.[68]

24. Should a Bordertown Dormitory Program be expanded either for Navajo or other Indian youth, the dormitories should be built in the larger urban centers whose school systems could provide a greater variety of facilities and programs, e.g., vocational education, special education, guidance and counseling. The larger urban centers would also provide greater employment opportunities for work-study projects and part-time employment.

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[68]See conclusion of the *Report to the Senate Appropriations Committee...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

EPILOGUE

"We have a public relations problem here. We must sell the American public on the idea that there should be a special program for Indians. There are many people in these United States who do not believe that Indians, whatever the past situation has been and whatever the present realities, deserve anything different from anyone else. We are not going to be able to sell them on the idea that we should subsidize Indians, sc that they can be different for difference's sake. We have to go beyond that. We must adopt some objectives that will get across the idea that the Indian is not as effective an American as he might be because of certain conditions of his past and present, and that special programs are required to make him a more effective American. Now, making him a more effective American does not necessarily imply making him not an Indian, but making him 'less Indian' may to some extent be involved. We must face that reality. We cannot justify special services simply in terms of past wrongs, but we can justify a special program on the basis of the results of our past policies."[69]

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[69]Member, Task Force on Indian Affairs, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

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Appendix A

1963 Sample of Navajo Dormitory Students

Age	Male	Female	Total
8	2	2	4
9	1	4	5
10	1	8	9
11	9	2	11
12	2	4	6
13	5	2	7
14	0	5	5
15	2	6	8
16	4	2	6
17	2	2	4
18	3	1	4
19	0	1	1
20	0	0	0
21	0	1	1
Total	31	40	71
%	44	56	

Grade	Male	Female	Total
1	1	0	1
2	2	1	3
3	1	4	5
4	3	7	10
5	6	3	9
6	3	4	7
7	3	7	10
8	3	5	8
9	2	2	4
10	3	3	6
11	4	3	7
12	0	1	1
Total	31	40	71

School	Total
Emerson	7
Kinsey	5
Marshall	5
Mt. Elden	3
So. Beaver	22
Weitzel	2
Jr. High	13
Sr. High	14
Total	71

	Total Elem.	%
	44	62
Total Secondary	27	38

Appendix B

SOCIOGRAM QUESTIONNAIRE

SOCIOGRAM FOR NAVAJO INDIAN CHILD STUDY
MUSEUM OF NORTHERN ARIZONA

Read to class after you have distributed materials:

> "Class, would you each write (print) your name at the top of this sheet of paper. After you have written (printed) your name would you answer the three questions by writing (printing) the first name and first letter of the last name of the person you select. For example, if you select Jimmy Smith, you would write Jimmy S. on your paper. (Write example on the board.) When you have finished with your paper make sure you have written your name at the top, fold the paper, and place it on my desk."

You may alter this procedure to suit your classroom situation as long as some attempt to provide for the confidence of the pupil is maintained.

Before returning the sociograms, would you mark each name as follows:

- Negro
- Indian
- Spanish American
- Oriental American

I will assume that each unmarked name is Anglo-White. You need not mark one name more than once.

Thank you for your time and assistance.

John H. Chilcott
Research Associate

Your Name

1. Who are your <u>three</u> best friends in this class?

2. What <u>three</u> students in this class do you admire most?

Appendix C

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Study of Navajo Children in Public School

Observation Schedule

1.-3. Schedule No._____

4. School No._____

5. Child No._____

6. Observation No._____

7. Description of the Situation being observed (classroom, playground, etc.) 7. _____

8.-25. Teacher-Child Relationship 8.-25.) _____

26.-40. Peer Group-Child Relationship 26.-40.) _____

41.-50. Manipulation of Materials (objects) 41.-50.) _____

51.-65. Adult-Child Relationship (custodian, principal, visitor, etc.) 51.-65.) _____

Appendix D

EMOTIONAL RESPONSE TEST
Based on School Situations, Objects, and Persons

This test should be administered only after considerable rapport has been established with the subject. Once the subject begins to respond to the question, little or no verbal assistance should be provided. If the subject pauses or hesitates, a word of agreement or encouragement should be provided after a few minutes. If several experiences can be recalled by the subject, he should be encouraged to state them all. Make sure that he has exhausted his memory or his inclination to talk about each situation.

State this to subject:

> "We are interested in learning more about the lives of boys and girls in school so as to compare their experiences with the experiences of boys and girls in other schools. Therefore, we would like to have you tell us a little about your experience in school. You can tell us anything you please. These things might have happened a long time ago, or they might just have happened."

Introductory Question: Sometimes people are very happy. Have you ever been very happy?

1. Can you remember when you were very happy in school? Tell me about it.

2. Can you remember another time when you were very happy in school? Tell me about it.

3. Can you remember another time when you were very happy in school? Tell me about it.

4. Can you remember any other times when you were very happy in school? Tell me about it.

5. Can you remember when you were very sad in school? Tell me about it.

6. Can you remember another time when you were very sad in school? Tell me about it.

7. Can you remember another time when you were very sad in school? Tell me about it.

8. Can you remember any other times when you were very sad in school?

9. Can you remember when you were very much afraid in school? Tell me about it.

10. Can you remember another time when you were very much afraid in school? Tell me about it.

11. Can you remember another time when you were very much afraid in school? Tell me about it.

12. Can you remember any other times when you were very much afraid in school?

13. Can you remember when you were very mad (angry) in school? Tell me about it.

14. Can you remember another time when you got very angry in school? Tell me about it.

15. Can you remember another time when you got very angry in school? Tell me about it.

16. Can you remember any other times when you got angry in school?

17. Can you remember when you felt ashamed at something you did at school? Tell me about it.

18. Can you remember when you felt ashamed at something another person did at school? Tell me about it.

19. Can you remember another time when you felt ashamed in school? Tell me about it.

20. Can you remember any other times when you felt ashamed in school?

21. Tell me the best thing that could happen to you in school!

22. What is the worst thing that could happen to you in school?

Appendix E

INTERVIEW OF TEACHER OF INDIAN CHILD

1. How would you describe _____ as a student?

2. How does _____ fit into the class socially? Is _____ a behavior problem? Describe.

3. Does _____ engage in any extra class activities? Examples?

4. Have you discouraged _____ from speaking Navajo? Why? Does _____ ever demonstrate any leadership in the class? Describe.

5. Does _____ have any unusual behavior characteristics?

6. Is there anything else that you think I should know about _____ which might help my study?

7. How do the Navajo children in general differ from Anglo students? English Usage.

8. Do the Navajo children tend to stick together or do they mix well with the Anglo students, Mexican-Americans, Negroes?

9. Were you teaching in the Flagstaff schools when the Indian children from the dormitory started classes? What was your reaction and observation at the time?

10. What have you done to compensate for the changes brought about by the Navajo children's inclusion in your classes?

11. Have you noted any changes in the general behaviors of the Indian children since they first started coming to school in Flagstaff?

12. Have you studied or read any books on the Navajo people? Examples?

13. Have you ever taken a course at the college on how to teach Indian children? What were some of the changes you made in your teaching as a result of your course?

14. Has the school district provided any assistance in helping you teach Navajo children?

15. What are the most significant problems as you see it in assimilating the Navajo children in your classroom?

Appendix F

INTERVIEW WITH ANGLO STUDENTS

1. When did you first become aware that there were Indian children in your classes? What was the reaction of most students?

2. Are the Indian children good students?

3. Do the Indian children enter into the extra-class activities, e.g., sports, hobby shows, PTA programs, etc.? Why - why not?

4. Do you play with the Indian children during recess or do they play by themselves?

5. Do the Indian children ever become leaders in the classroom? Around school?

6. If you could describe Indian children in general how would you describe them?

7. Do you feel that there is any resentment toward Indian children on the part of the rest of the students? Why do they resent them?

8. Can you tell me anything more about the Indian children and their actions in school?

9. Do you have any good Indian friends?

10. Have you ever had any Indian children in your home? Conditions?

11. Do you think that the Indian children should go to school on the reservation rather than in Flagstaff?

12. Would you describe Indian children as troublemakers?

Thanks for your help.

Appendix G

INTERVIEW WITH SCHOOL ADMINISTRATOR

1. How long have you been principal of this school?

2. Were you a teacher or administrator in the Flagstaff system when the Indian children first started coming to school? What was your initial reaction?

3. What was the effect of the inclusion of the Indian children in the school system?

4. How would you describe the Indian children during the first year or so when the Indian children arrived in school?

5. Recognizing that individual differences exist, how would you describe the Indian children today?

6. What was the reaction of the Anglo-children to the Indian children?

7. What was the reaction of the teachers to the Indian children?

8. Is there a type of teacher who appears to be more successful with Indian children?

9. Do the Indian children engage in the extracurricular program? Examples? Hobby shows?

10. Is there any unusual behavior of the Navajo children during the lunch hour? What foods do they like? Dislike?

11. Would you describe the Indian children as behavior problems? Examples?

12. Would you describe the Indian children as learning problems? Examples?

13. Has the school done anything to compensate for the problems which arose as a result of the inclusion of Indian children in the classes?

14. Have any Navajo parents participated in any of the school affairs? Have you any Navajo teachers in your school? Are they more or less successful with Navajo children?

15. Have you noted any reaction of the Anglo parents to the inclusion of the Indian children in the classes?

16. Have you noted any reaction on the part of the Navajo parents who live in Flagstaff to the inclusion of Navajo children from the reservation in the classes? Is there anything in the curriculum where the children study anything about the Navajo culture?

17. Can you think of anything more which would be helpful to me in my study?

Appendix H

INTERVIEW OF DORMITORY STUDENT

CODE NUMBER_____

INSTRUCTIONS:

This interview should be administered to as many children to the sample as possible in grades 5, 8, and 11. If possible Indian interviewers should be utilized. The standard interview procedure such as putting the child at ease, etc., should be followed. At the conclusion of the interview the interviewer should react to the child's remarks and conduct of this interview.

Name of Student_____

Age____ Sex____ Grade Level____ *Estimated Achievement: Low Average High

Location of Home_____

Name of People You Live with_____
(Indicate Relationship)

I. On School Experience
   1. How long have you been in this school?

   2. (If appropriate) What other schools have you attended?

   3. (If choice of schools) Why are you going to this particular school?

II. Degree of Peer-Group Relations
   1. What do you do after school? During the afternoon and evening? During the weekend? During vacations in summer and winter? (Play activities, school activities, household chores)

   2. Tell me about your best friends. Who are they in school? Outside of school? Why are they your best friends? (If not answered in former question)

*Information provided by the teacher.

3. What do your parents say about your best friends? (Do they know the friends and do they like them?)

4. Do your friends understand your moods and problems better than your parents? Than your teachers?

5. Do you have any friends who are not Indian?

   How are they different from your Indian friends?

   Would you rather play with your Indian friends or with your non-Indian friends?

6. Have you ever helped your friends against your teacher? Have you ever stood up for your friends against your teacher? Can you describe it?

III. Student Perception of Parental Relationship to School

1. How often do your parents visit the school? Why do they come?

2. What are some of the things they have done at school?
   (Specific examples: Football games? Special assemblies? Open house or Parents' Night? PTA meetings? Adult education courses?)
   (Degree of parental participation)

3. What do you tell your parents about school?

4. What do your parents say about the school? And the school in general? Do they like the school? Why or why not?

5. Do you get along well with your parents?

IV. Identity -- Language and Culture

1. What languages do you speak?

When and how well?

When did you learn it (them)?

Does your teacher know your language?

(If respondent speaks tribal language) Do you use (specify language) in talking with: Your parents? Other relatives (e.g., grandmother, uncle)? Your friends? Your teacher? Other people?

(If respondent does not speak own language) Do you understand it when others speak in (specify language)?

2. (If tribal language not spoken) Would you like to learn (specify language)?

Would you like to see (specify native language) taught in school? (If appropriate) Why or why not?

How important is it and why do you want it taught in school? Or if tribal language not spoken: How important is it to you to learn your tribal language?

3. Would you learn more things easily if you were taught in (specify language)?

4. Tell me what you know about your tribe? (History, tradition, customs, dances and songs, crafts, traditional food, dress, stories, etc.)

Where are you learning it? (In school, at home, from parents, friends, teachers, other relatives, from books)

5. Would you like to learn (something more) about (specify tribe)?

Why? Why not? How important is this to you?

What kinds of things?

Where would you learn them? (In school, at home, from grandfather, etc.)

(If answer is "In School") Why? How would you like to see this done? (e.g., once a week, separate course taught daily, etc.)

(If answer is "At Home") Why? Or why not in school?

V. Student Perception of the Curriculum

1. What would happen to you if you didn't have to go to school?

2. How does going to school help you? What do you get out of school? How is it important?

3. What is the highest grade that you would like to finish?

   What would you like to be when you finish school?

4. Who is in charge of this school?

5. Who should run the school?

6. Who would you go to if you were having trouble with your homework?

7. Do you take part in class voluntarily? Why or why not?

8. Do you stay after school or return for activities other than classes? (Under what circumstances?)

9. How does your school compare with other schools you know? (Better or worse?)

10. Are there things that you need to know that you do not learn in school?

11. Do you like going to school here? Why or why not?

    What do you like best or dislike about this school?

    What subjects?

12. If you were in charge of running the school, what would you change?

VI. Student Perception of the Teacher

1. What is a teacher's job? What do you think of teachers in general?

2. What kind of job is your teacher doing?

   Is he(she) better or worse than other teachers? Why?

3. Would you like to be a teacher -- why or why not?

VII. For Dormitory Children

1. Would you rather live in the dorm or at home? Why?

2. What do you like or dislike about living in the dorm?

3. What do you learn in the dorm?

4. Who in the dorm helps you the most and how?

5. What happens if you do something wrong in the dorm?

6. How often does your family and relatives visit the dorm? Why?

7. If you were running the dormitory, what would you change?

Appendix I

NATIONAL STUDY OF AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION

CODE NUMBER _____ August, 1968

INTERVIEW WITH DORMITORY PERSONNEL

Note to Interviewer: This interview should be administered to the supervisory personnel and to a sampling of all other dormitory personnel who interact with children in the course of their work. Five interviews of this second type should be adequate for most dorms. It would also be desirable to do one interview with a janitor or some such person who works in the dormitory but does not normally interact with children in the course of his work.

Name_____ Age_____ Sex_____

I. Data on Respondent

1. Extent of Education_____

What school attended? (Specify boarding or day)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

2. (If person has lived in dorm previously) Describe the dorms and dormitory life where you were a student.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3. How long have you worked in a dormitory?_____

in this dormitory?_____ What other jobs have you held?_____

_____

Data on Respondent (continued)

4. Why did you seek employment in the dormitory?_____

_____

_____

II. Perception of Role and Task

5. What are your usual tasks and duties? What is your general role in the dorm?_____

_____

_____

_____

6. What do you feel is the most important thing you can do for the students living here in the dormitory?_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. What is the general function or purpose of the dormitory?_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

III. Relationship to Classroom Program

8. Compared to the classroom, how important do you feel the dormitory is in the educational development of the students?_____

_____

_____

_____

Relationship to Classroom Program (continued)

9. Would you comment on your general impressions regarding what goes on in the classrooms?

Have you visited any of the classrooms and observed the teachers at work?

Have any teachers visited the dormitories?

How well do the teachers know what goes on in the dormitory?

10. Are there any ways in which the dormitory assists the school program? List them:

Are there times when there is a conflict between the dormitory program and the school program? Yes No

(If yes) How can this conflict be resolved?

IV. Relationship to Students

11. Should the students here learn about their own culture and heritage?_____ Why or why not?_____

_____

_____

_____

If yes, where should they learn this?_____

_____

_____

12. When a child does something wrong in the dormitory, what do you do to correct him or her?_____

_____

_____

_____

13. (Where applicable) How were you disciplined when you were living in a dormitory?_____

_____

_____

_____

14. (In dorms where there are more than one tribe) How well do pupils of different tribes integrate and interact in the dorm?_____

_____

_____

Is this encouraged?_____

_____

_____

_____

V. Relationship to Parents and Home

15. What does the home and family provide for the child who stays at home?_____

_____

_____

Are there harmful things that result from students staying at home rather than in a dormitory?_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Can the dormitory compensate for what the student misses from not staying at home?_____

_____

_____

_____

16. How often do parents visit the dormitory?

weekly _____

monthly _____

twice a year _____

never _____

What usually happens when parents visit?_____

_____

_____

How do you feel about parents visiting the dormitory?_____

_____

How do the children feel about visits by their parents?_____

Relationship to Parents and Home (continued)

17. Is there anything else we should know about the dormitory?_____